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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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'ARAFAT'S POLITICAL ADVISER DISCUSSES REAGAN PLAN

Amman THE JERUSALEM STAR in English 21-27 Oct 82 p 21

[Article by Nabil Sha'th: "We Will Not Accept Another Diaspora"]

[Text]

Nabil Sha'th is a member of the Palestine National Council and a political/economic advisor to Chairman Yasser Arafat and the Executive Committee of the PLO. He has been sent by the chairman on several missions, one of which was to the United Nations. This led to the invitation to Chairman Arafat to make his historic speech there in 1974. Dr. Shaath's last mission was in August of this year, to the United States, where he was an important link in the process leading to the Beirut withdrawal agreement. He made many contacts with U.S. congressmen and senators, and other important policymakers who are not involved in the administration. Dr. Shaath made an excellent impression during his visit to the U.S. as a graduate of the Wharton School of Finance, from which he received a Ph.D. in management, and where he taught for many years, in addition to teaching at the American universities of Beirut and Cairo. Dr. Shaath accompanied Mr. Arafat on the latter's recent trip to Jordan, at which time he spoke to Star staff writer Leila G. Deeb on the current situation regarding the Palestinian struggle and the importance of the Palestinian-Jordanian discussions. Following are excerpts from the interview:

The situation after Beirut

All contacts we are making are designed to make our road out of Beirut lead to Jerusalem. We heroically defended Beirut and Lebanon for 80 days against the heaviest odds, with very little support from the outside world, particularly the Arab World. But we had to leave Beirut to spare it total destruction by the Israelis.

Our relocation from Beirut is a serious and costly matter that we refuse to allow to lead us to another diaspora, even though we had no definite commitment by the parties concerned linking our departure with the establishment of our homeland and the exercise of our right to self-determination. We still took the political risk, for the sake of peace and justice for the children of Beirut.

It was no accident that President Reagan made his announcement regarding Palestine and peace in the Middle East on the last day of our departure from Beirut. Even though there was no definite linkage, our understanding was that the U.S. was committed to a specific plan to implement our legitimate rights at the end of our relocation.

Taking that political risk has already cost us a lot. The U.S. government did not honour its commitment to protect our civilians in Beirut. It definitely shares responsibility for the massacre in Sabra and Shatila.

The immediate return of the U.S. Marines and the multinational force, in greater strength and with a longer mandate, after their hasty withdrawal is an admission of U.S. guilt and an attempt to make a belated atonement.

However, though the Reagan Plan fell short of our political expectations and aspirations, it meant significant progress in the U.S. position and produced several positive features.

The Reagan Plan's significance

The Reagan Plan clearly negated the Sharon plan for the future of the Palestinians and Jordan, namely the expulsion of the Palestinians into a Jordan that will be renamed Palestine under the hegemony of Israel; a peace treaty imposed on Lebanon; and total

Israeli hegemony over the north and east of Palestine. These are all elements that Sharon stated during his U.S. visit immediately prior to the Reagan announcement on 1 September, and are

inoperative, being rejected by the American administration.

The Reagan Plan also rejects the Israeli contention that the PLO was defeated in Lebanon, by insisting that Israel has proven by its invasion that it cannot achieve peace for itself and its neighbours by outmoded concepts of security. The Palestinian losses in Beirut in no way diminished the "yearning of the Palestinians for a homeland". Reagan now fully confirms that the quest of the Palestinians is for "Their legitimate rights," and that their problem is not one of refugees.

The plan also clearly rejects the Israeli claim on Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza, and insists on evacuation of the land by the Israelis (Schultz explained to several Arab-Americans that the evacuation must be total, meaning no less than 98 per cent of the occupied territories).

The Reagan Plan also rejects the Israeli notions on "autonomy" during the interim period, insisting that it be full autonomy for the land, the people and the resources, and including full command of internal security by the Palestinians during the interim period.

It rejects, in addition, the Israeli attempt to create quislings on the West Bank and Gaza, refusing to accept Sharon's announcement on his choice of Palestinian representatives--the gangs of the so-called Village Leagues--and insists that Palestinian representation can come only through direct and free elections by Palestinians.

Another important positive feature of the Reagan Plan is its rejection of the use of settlements as a security measure, and the insistence that Israel freeze totally the expropriation of Arab land, the establishment of new settlements or the expansion of existing ones during the interim period. This effectively attempts to put an end to creeping annexation, Judaisation and the uprooting of Palestinians from their own land.

It should be remembered that despite all Israeli efforts in that direction, including the expropriation of 35 per

cent of the total land area of the occupied territories, the number of Israelis introduced has brought their number only up to 2 per cent of the total population of the territories.

Reagan's logical error

The Reagan Plan makes an error of logic, international jurisprudence and fairness. On one hand, it considers the Palestinians "a people," admits to their having "legitimate rights," and recognises both the existence of a clearly defined homeland (the occupied territories), and their right to free expression and election of representatives.

These are the requisite elements--in fact, all the requisite elements--defined by international law and practice, as well as justice and morality, to mean self-determination. That is, the right of a people to establish a sovereign and independent state on its land by its chosen representatives.

But the Reagan Plan falls short of this logical conclusion by denying us the right to an independent state. Therefore our political struggle since our departure from Beirut has been to complement and remedy its deficiencies, which we have achieved successfully with the Fez Declaration. The Arab summit definitely reconfirmed our right to establish an independent Palestinian state on the occupied territory, led by the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

Using that platform, the PLO leadership is executing an intensive plan of action to gain the widest support for our rights as defined by the Fez Plan, seeking the closest liaison with all concerned parties. That is why we are in Jordan, the most relevant partner.

Palestinian-Jordanian relations

It is superfluous at this stage to talk of the historical links between the Palestinian and Jordanian people, because it is so evident and well documented, and so much in practice by the people themselves, who have developed organic links over the years.

The political importance of the

present round of talks is that it declares the start of a serious cooperation and full coordination of efforts to attain the liberation of the occupied territories and the establishment of peace and justice for our region.

The Reagan Plan produced an image of association between the liberated Palestinian land and the Kingdom of Jordan. The Palestinians insist on their independent right and their initiative in choosing the kind of association necessary for their joint action, and will not accept an arrangement dictated by the U.S. government. The PLO has always recognised the special relations between Palestinians and Jordanians, and that will very obviously emerge between them as a result of the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories.

The Kingdom of Jordan has accepted the principle of the sole representation of the Palestinians by the PLO, and has reconfirmed it by its support of the Fez Declaration, in effect paving the way for a freely-determined alliance between the PLO and Jordan based on the principles of mutual respect and equality, and the mutual definition of objectives and processes, full consultations on the progress of the political campaign, and joint committees that will draw up mutually acceptable interim plans and final visions of the future of Palestine and Jordan.

One of the most important achievements made by the visit of the Palestinian top-level delegation to Jordan is the progress made in defining goals and processes and getting to know more about each other; the cementing of confidence and the creation of new chances for Palestinians to come back to Jordan to live with their families among their brethren; to develop a common language and to face the world together.

If dramatic declarations are not produced today, none are really required at this stage. What is required is well studied plans and the concrete steps needed to fulfil them, so that independent Jordan and Palestine can work together to liberate our land and guarantee our common future peace, security and prosperity.

U.S. BLIND TO MIDDLE EAST REALITIES, SAYS 'ARAFAT

Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 9 Oct 82 pp 6, 8

[Interview with Yaris 'Arafat, PLO chairman--date and place not given]

[Text]

Q. Do you foresee a possible recognition of the PLO by the United States?

A. I am sorry to say that the United States is blind to the realities of the situation in the Middle East — a region which it considers as of great importance and where it seeks to exercise its influence and hegemony.

It is sad that a superpower like the U.S. takes Israel's viewpoint — the enemy of all Arabs — and offers it with unlimited economic, military, political and diplomatic support. The U.S. has adopted Israel's viewpoint as its interest in the area.

This is not all. I ask, is it permissible for a superpower like the U.S. to commit such mistakes that may directly affect humanity, particularly the Palestinian people. The Palestine problem is the central issue for all Arabs, for all Muslims. It is the main issue for the nonaligned movement and the foremost concern among the liberation movements of the world. In fact, it is the No. 1 global cause today. Is it therefore right for the U.S. to treat this issue with such gross indifference?

I therefore say with authority that the American attitude toward the Palestine question is wrong and sooner or later will recoil on its interests in the area.

Is it permissible for a superpower to treat such human causes with such carelessness and are the American people to follow their government in taking an incorrect stand toward this issue which has been given top priority by the international legal body? Do the American people have to accept the wrong policies of their government?

I'll give you an example. How can the U.S. administration comment about a secret assurance given by one of its former secretaries of state, Henry Kissinger, who said sometime after his departure from office: "I have done my duty toward my people in a manner that satisfied my conscience." He did not say the "American people" but repeated "my people." He said the same thing in front of Jewish demonstrators at the David Hotel in Jerusalem.

Is it morally or politically permissible for the U.S. to bind itself with an assurance forced on it by a former secretary of state by a secret agreement and to reject all its public commitments which it gave at the U.N. and the Security Council?

It is for this reason that I say with hope, and fully aware of what a U.S. recognition of the PLO, the Palestinian people and the cause of justice means, that one of our duties at the PLO is to keep using all our weight to open a breach in that wall which the blind interests — and I underline "blind" — are trying to build with the illusory Israeli or Zionist lobby, because I don't believe in it. There is no such thing as an Israeli or Zionist lobby. It is just a fantasy. But I can safely say that there is an American lobby in Israel. The lobby has been invented to keep us quiet, we the Arabs.

Kissinger had another invention to his credit, namely, the Greek lobby. At one point, mediation on the Cypriot problem reached a stalemate, so they decided to blockade Turkey. With the emergence of the revolution in Iran, the myth of the "Greek lobby" faded away and U.S.-Turkish relations returned to their best and the blockade was lifted. So where is that "Greek lobby" now? At each stage and with every turn in policy the lobby (game) is played.

I am posing this query to U.S. public opinion, world public opinion and Arab public opinion ... I have every right to do so.

And we are still trying ... taking into consideration the recent changes in public opinion and the American people who are about to discover what is really going on in the area and the truth about the justness of the Palestinian cause. In fact they did, if we judge by the poll conducted by *Newsweek*. The poll showed that 75 percent Americans are against arming Israel and that 51 percent are with the Palestinian people.

Naturally, the main reason (for all that) is that despite all the skill of American policymakers with

the so-called Israeli lobby, the blood flood from the massacres caused by U.S. weapons and the American conspiracy and connivance could not be concealed.

The Reagan plan

Q. The Reagan plan to restore the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinians and give them an entity politically tied with Jordan means that the U.S. will

not recognize the Palestinian statehood. What would you comment on that?

A. I would like to ask the world, ask the U.S. people, does President Reagan still hold to his project after the genocide in Sabra and Shatila and after U.S. credibility was lost in the lanes of these two camps and after the blood of the innocent was shed? Which American administration now can claim or enjoy any credibility? Where is the honoring of commitments?

I have written commitments!

Before you ask me such a question, I would like to ask you, and the answer will raise the issue of credibility: Who tells me that this (Reagan) project is not like the commitment I received in Beirut, who tells me that (this time) it will guarantee the security of the (Palestinian) camps? This undertaking I have in writing proved not to be credible, so how could I make sure that the project submitted now will not meet the same fate as the notorious commitments?

I haven't given my views on the project, to say whether it is negative or positive; but first and foremost I speak about its credibility already lost under the tanks that rolled on my people who were still alive, our children, our women and our men in the Sabra and Shatila camps. All this blood shed at Akka and Gaza hospitals was revealed by (Alexander) Haig in his statement a few days ago! I wonder whom should I believe, the former secretary of state who initiated the battle against us, the new one who submerged us in that battle, or President Reagan who oversaw both?

Aren't these (good) queries?

We read Haig's statement when they were published. He said that when the U.S. government gave its commitments to the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Command, it knew that such commitments will not be honored and that it was preparing for the storming of Lebanon. But Palestinian blood is sacred; we can neither neglect it, nor forget it ever!

Fez Summit committee

Q. A seven-member committee was set up by the Fez Summit. What steps has it taken? What are its temporary achievements? Will you as a member of that committee go to the United States?

A. I am, in fact, a committee member. The other members are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and the PLO. It was scheduled to meet on Oct. 3, at foreign ministers' level, but King Hassan II asked that the meeting be postponed till Oct. 11. This committee is supposed to meet at foreign ministers' level to work out an action plan that will be submitted for the approval of the Arab heads of state prior to its implementation.

As to my going to the United States, this issue will be decided upon by the committee, while I have the right to choose the country. I shall be a member of an Arab delegation, which means that I will not be going as PLO representative to any country, but as a representative of the Arab summit conference. I may go any time. It was for the first time that an Arab summit adopted such unanimous decisions.

Q. What do you foresee for this committee and its rate of success?

A. I feel that this committee is necessary for the summit resolutions to be carried out properly. It is the first time that a committee is formed at the level of kings and heads of state to follow up and implement resolutions. And there is an international response that existed even before the conference, or you can say that international response is showing up.

Q. Regarding the PLO headquarters, will it be in Tunis permanently or provisionally until another Arab country is selected?

A. So far, the headquarters is in Tunis, which is also the seat of the Arab League, not to forget that fraternal attitude on the part of Tunisia which received us with open arms.

Europe's position

Q. What does the PLO executive committee chairman expect Europe to do for the Palestinian's equitable rights? Do you hope for a positive European attitude?

A. I also ask: could there be European positive attitudes? Because, I always remember the well-known proverb, "Nothing can scratch your skin better than your nail." If you are not strong, people will not respect you. The policy of "If somebody slaps you on the right cheek, give him the left also" will not only affect us, but our children as well. It is our right, the right of this Ummah (the Arab and Islamic worlds) over us, and the right of future generations over us, that we start dealing with this world in a style different from the one we practice today.

The world has proved that it doesn't respect the weak. Had Sharon been able to, as he imagined, he would have entered Beirut on a white horse and taken over the Palestinian command, killing, injuring or capturing everybody. As had been expected, of course, he entered Beirut as a result of America's complicity with Sarkis and Bashir. And this is the first time I state "with Sarkis and Bashir," after the departure of the (Palestinian) stalwarts to conduct his butchery with such deceit and treachery. When he found those knights too hard to beat, nobody looked at him.

Had this war not been the longest Arab-Israeli war, ever, nobody would have taken care of anybody else. I am saying it for the first time — and I am an old soldier — an invincible enemy can only be a myth. This myth, thanks be to God, has been wiped out from my brain. How many times have I discussed this issue with my brothers, including my brother Saad Sayel who fell in the field of honor. During the siege (of Beirut), we were seeing their (the Israelis') weak point. The enemy was as weak as never before.

Once, Begin sent me a message with a foreign correspondent: "Tell Yasser Arafat that it is we who are surrounding Beirut, not him who is besieging Tel Aviv." Why has he sent such a message? Because he knew how we dealt with him. We dealt with him as if we were the stronger and he the weak. I was asked more than once and warned that Begin will intrude into our place and capture us. My reply was *Ahlan Wa Sahlan* (Welcome!). "If he can get to me he is most welcome. I told him: this more than once but he never managed to."

Sorry, but the following point has to be explained to our Arab Ummah. My job, from the position I hold, and yours as a man who struggles in the Arab world, is not only to ask and reply. No. We must also write our history.

In other words, Europe's position will not change, negatively or positively, except inasmuch as ours does. As long as the West or Europe and the United States and the whole world feel that their interests are permanently ensured, nobody will stand by our side or comprehend our rights!

All right, get angry. Get angry! Show and stress that you are angry! But even anger is forbidden for us, Arabs!

Q. Did President Elias Sarkis have a role in the massacres?

A. I said before that the U.S. had given written assurances through Philip Habib that it will not allow the Israelis to enter West Beirut and it will protect the refugee camps from the Israelis and all armed groups. We were surprised at this. They then clarified this by saying that it meant protection from Saad Haddad's men, Phalangists or other militia groups. We accepted these explanations.

The multinational forces also have to assume responsibility. My dialogue with the French and Italian contingent stressed on security for the refugee camps and supervision of the PLO departure from Beirut.

The multinational forces left prior to their scheduled departure and when I inquired as to why this had happened, I was told that pressure was put on them by Philip Habib, Elias Sarkis and Bashir Gemayel. I asked them, what about me? Am I not a party to the agreement? The answer was, "You are in the Palestinian camps which were already occupied by the Lebanese Army prior to the departure of the multinational forces."

It was the Lebanese Army which collected all the weapons left by the PLO fighters, so the assurances which I spoke about exist and the Americans know about it. From here I may wish to point out to my Arab brothers what Sarkis did.

How many bombs fell on Zahla by mistake and what was the number of wounded? Nineteen only! Out of which eight were from Zahla. But thousands of bombs rained death and destruction on the Muslim sector of Beirut and Sarkis sitting at the Baabda Palace supervising the whole operation.

Everyone knows this. Everyone and especially

the Arab ambassadors in the U.N. know that Ghasan Toveni, the Lebanese representative to the U.N., put obstacles in the Security Council's call to condemn Israel. It required a tough battle by us. I can expose many things if need be.

I want to know from my Arab brothers whether this stand by Sarkis was tolerable when a part of my nation, a part of his capital, was burning. Is it a responsible role that Sarkis played? Is it comparable to his role in Zahla when some shells fell accidentally during the Phalangist-Israeli forces trading fire with the Syrians in the Bakaa Valley?

Q. What about Damour?

A. It was an internal Lebanese issue. If they say Damour, I will answer, Al Musallekh or Karant. This was a purely Lebanese matter. It is enough if they remember who rescued Chamoun from his palace.

Q. There are many tales of brutalities conceived by the Israelis, especially the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. Do you wish to comment?

A. In Sabra and Shatila the number of victims exceeded 6,000 and 14 refugee camps were wiped out. Three Lebanese cities, Nabatia, Tyre and Sidon were destroyed, West Beirut devastated, 73,000 martyred or wounded, and that too is not the final score.

The Israelis claim 21,560 dead or wounded. This led Rabin to state "that Sharon has exceeded Israel's capacity to absorb such casualties." **The whole operation is a joint American-Israeli one, in association with some Lebanese officials.**

The U.N. forces too failed when they allowed a direct passage for Israeli troops to go through. Where is the sanctity of the U.N.?

This war destroyed many myths and values. The U.S. admitted that the flow of arms to Israel remained unchecked throughout the war. Cluster bombs supply was partly stopped, then resumed.

For instance, the amphibious landing? Anyway, I ask others about amphibious landings. What size is the armored force that Israel can land on any coast? Let's ask the Arab and other military experts. Israel does not have more than a small platoon. So, how could it land at Jisr Al-Oola, north of Sidon, an armored brigade, in other places, simultaneously, a small platoon, and, in a third place, another small platoon? How did this happen, where did it get the forces from?

It is obvious that a unit of the U.S. fleet took part in that landing, and that's precisely what was announced a few days before the war. **An announcement had been made about joint U.S.-Israeli maneuvers.**

Let me tell you that if we are to talk about what happened behind the scene in this war, we will need a long study to be written by military experts and four political analysts.

Last bill

Q. What was the content of the last message you sent to President Sarkis before leaving Beirut?

A. The last message I sent to Sarkis, in reply to

another message was: "Thanks, you made me pay all the bills. The entire Lebanese bill, the entire American bill, the entire Israeli bill, and some Arab bills. Do you have any more bills left so I may pay them to you before I quit?"

The fact is that I settled all the bills. Nobody has any more bills left for me with him. I paid them in full! Let us talk calmly. **We were not fighting Israel, but America. Witness some of the U.S. actions at the Security Council.** It left no stone unturned to protect Israel's back. And what about the scandal of the vetoes, including the one regarding the Beirut pogrom!

Media smokescreen

Now the mass media in America has begun creating a smokescreen and diluting the image of the butchery that took place, as if the dead were just mice, or if the whole matter was no more than a rabbit hunt. Why so? Are we dogs? Is our blood cheap, while theirs is dear? Are their children dear and ours not?

I would like, once again, to ask my fellow Arabs. Sharon has chosen his way; so what way will my world choose? That's what really matters! Sharon opted for the butcheries. What will my Ummah opt for? I gave those examples to tell you that we were not facing Israel, but the United States. Believe me, I was not lying on a satin bed!

Q. How will you describe your relations with Egypt? Do you plan a visit to Egypt and, if so, are you pessimistic?

A. There is no visit planned at the moment. **Egypt is very dear to me.** I have fought many wars there. In 1952 I took part in the Egyptian struggle against the British. In 1956 as an officer in the Egyptian army, I was educated in Egypt. For me it is a part of my existence. Our woes began when Sadat pulled Egypt out of the Arab camp.

Egypt is the soul. I wish to visit Egypt and any positive action by President Mubarak was reciprocated by us. When the Egyptian president recalled his ambassador from Tel Aviv I thanked him. The stand taken by him during the Israeli aggression also was commendable and I do hope this approach persists.

Q. You have not been invited to visit Egypt so far?

A. No.

PLO exit from Beirut

Q. As far as the organization's exit from Beirut, we don't think that it was an easy decision to be taken by the PLO, given, especially, the importance of Lebanon, as we all know, as a base and a main launching pad for the Palestinian revolution. Had there been a consensus at the Palestinian Command to leave?

A. All that took place was by consensus at Palestinian Command level, and there are verbatim reports to prove it. The truth — and I say it very loudly and proudly — there was a unanimity I never saw before in decision-

making and in leading the operations. A marvelous manifestation, especially during the siege. Never before had I felt such a thing in my life as PLO commander. We all acted as one man!

When we left Beirut ... I swear by God that it would have never been possible that I do; but as was the case with the Holy Prophet when he left Makkah, I left Beirut only because of the children and women of Beirut who tasted bitterness with me and were being bombed from the sea, from the air and from the land, day and night. Beirut gave me what no other city did. But, in the end, it is not a Palestinian city. I am saying so, despite the fact that I am not for regionalism. Never had I wished that Beirut be a Palestinian city except at that moment. Because, at that moment, I had two alternatives, either to fall as a martyr, or to quit the city.

Q. There are some reports of differences in the PLO. This is attributed to Salah Khalaf's absence from the PLO delegations to a number of Arab countries. Please comment.

A. We are visiting many states and from a security point of view it is not possible for all to be in one plane. We always coordinate our efforts. This is a typical Palestinian approach and we abide by it.

I am also not a leader who got 99.9 percent of the votes. We do commit mistakes. At times I am critical of the non-democratic trends in our organization. **Please remember that 60 percent of my people are refugees and 40 percent under occupation.** We need a consensus to coordinate our strategy and only through a democratic framework can we achieve our goals.

All revolutions have their features. The main feature of the Palestinian revolution is its democratic outlook. This is also one of its strengths. All subjects are thoroughly discussed, viewpoints exchanged and once a decision taken, all have to implement it. They are ready to die for it.

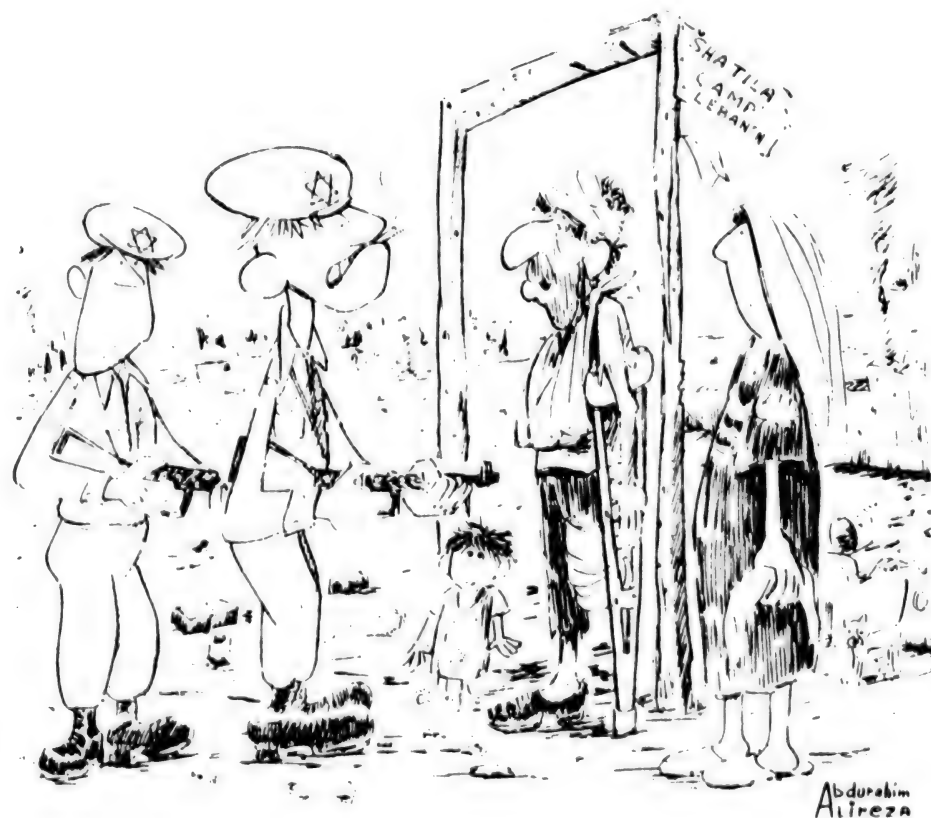
Listen! Slaves do not fight. This fighter who faced the Israeli army with its mighty arsenal provided by the United States all this period did not do so because he was brave but because he believes in his cause. **Yes! Slaves do not fight. Any PLO fighter has the right to question Abu Ammar.**

Ask one of the Saudis, from a well known Saudi family who lived and fought with us. Ask him how the PLO fighters lived. Ask the Saudi who was with us in command No. 3 and who was ready to die. Ask them about the exchange of ideas and opinions.

Last question

Q. The last question is on Iran. Abu Ammar shared the Iranians' bread when they were in exile and stood by their side at the beginning of their battle. Then the Iranians collaborated with Israel and we all know about the notorious arms scandal. What would Abu Ammar comment on this?

A. No comment.



CSO: 4400/84

NATURE OF ARAB WEAKNESS VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL EXPLORED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 2 Nov 82 p 7

/Article by 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Mushat: "Israel's Strategy and the Arab Security Dilemma"/

/Text/ The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacres inflicted on the Palestinians in Beirut have underlined how extreme the contradiction is between the grievous nature of these events on the one hand and the weakness of the Arab position on the other. People who are concerned about and interested in the future of the Arab nation ask what happened. Here we will offer our own judgment in portraying what happened and offering a conception of what could be done in the future.

First, the lesson of Lebanon. The Israeli military operations and the weak Arab response have exposed the real tragedy the Arab system is suffering from. This can be summarized by a failure to arrive at a unified format for action and a clear strategy for the future which will guarantee that this system will continue and prevail. The main points of weakness can be summarized by three phenomena that have distinguished Arab regimes in the past decade:

A. An absence of national consciousness. We can say, without exaggeration, that Arab national consciousness, and an awareness of the national nature of Arab problems, suffered a weakening after the October 1973 war and the revolution in oil wealth that occurred in the wake of it. From our point of view, the October 1973 war represents the last episode of strategic solidarity in confronting foreign threats and dangers in modern Arab history. Factors which had not existed previously that led to the mutual estrangement of Arab countries arose from the increase in oil wealth. It became commonplace to talk about /oil/ countries as contrasted with the country of the river, the former characterized by wealth, the latter characterized by poverty. For the first time, real competition occurred between "have" countries and "have not" countries over who would play the major role in the Arab system and who would move events in the region.

Every Arab regime's attention has been confined to its own borders and the influence it can have on the other countries in the region, as if what is going on in the regional Arab system has no effect on these regimes as a whole. The Arab system has been turned into weak peripheral regional regimes that are exposed to danger, rifts and ramifications have appeared which basically contradict the Arab national

concept, and perseverance and steadfastness countries, moderate countries, occasionally right-wing and left-wing countries, and sometimes republican regimes and tribal regimes have come into being. More than that, a distinction has arisen between countries that have formed mergers /with one another/ and others that are factional, and, on the political and intellectual side, countries that follow the United States of America and others that follow the Soviet Union.

From these rifts and ramifications, a serious phenomenon has arisen, that of neglect of the national dimension of Arab causes. Indeed, sometimes there has been no further talk about Arab causes, and the talk has turned to the local issues of each state in isolation. This new tendency has gone on to the point where there has come to be a clear distinction between one people and another. The Egyptian people, on that basis, have become different from the Saudi people. Similarly, the distinction has shifted from one of institutions, structures, issues and positions to one of the Arabs themselves. Arab national awareness became linked to daily problems of limited importance and has no longer attained the important strategic dimensions that would define the destiny and regional system of the Arab nation. Things started to reach the point where it seemed that what was going on on a given stage concerned only the people on that stage and did not extend to other Arabs on other stages.

Thus the countries of the Gulf have started to talk about Gulf security, Egypt has been talking about the security of Egypt, and no one has been paying attention to the historic legacy and ancient and modern Arab expertise which would render these peripheral concerns invalid and stress that Arab security was united and that Arab national security ought to become the paramount concern not just of Arab political regimes but also of Arab citizens, and especially Arab intellectuals. The events in Lebanon have underlined the fact that the absence of an understanding and awareness of Arab national security has been one of the features of the dissolution of the regional system and that it has become possible that what has happened in Lebanon could occur in any other Arab country, with the same degree of viciousness. Here the pressing need to re-emphasize the national notion of Arab security is apparent.

B. The absence of an Arab memory. The war in Lebanon has revealed that the Arabs are distinguished by a lack and absence of memory in their dealings with Israel. This is because the experience of Arab dealings with Israel has stressed that Israel's strategy is clear and has not changed, although the Arabs have not understood this or have ignored this fact, or their awareness of the experience with Israel is deficient. What has happened in Lebanon is a natural extension of what happened on other stages at other times. Have the Arabs forgotten the experience of 1948, the experiences of the 1956 and 1967 wars, the experiences of the wars of attrition, the experiences of 1970, and the experience of 1973? The Arabs have forgotten the meanings of these episodes that have been recorded in modern Arab history, such as Dayr Yasin, Bahr al-Baqar, al-Karamah and the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Two things of the utmost gravity have arisen from the absence of an Arab memory of the experience of dealing with Israel:

First, the laziness of the Arab mind during the events of Lebanon, as a result of which the ability to imagine and understand what was going on had become absent or

paralyzed. The Arab system seemed to have become hypnotized, its eyeballs bulging out but not seeing, and, if seeing, not understanding, because, if it had understood, its reaction might have been different from what had happened. Here we are not just blaming the Arab regimes and their governments but are also severely criticizing the Arab peoples, which have not been able to put pressure on their governments. The Arab nationalist forces themselves have been afflicted with the same ailment that has affected their governments, which is a loss of memory. These forces, under the condition of hypnosis or intoxication, have forgotten the mass upheavals they launched in the fifties and sixties, which bore on acts of Arab destiny linked to the challenge of the Israeli enemy.

C. The absence of Arab thinking and ideology, especially that related to the national future. To make this point entirely clear, it is necessary to compare this aspect with Zionist thinking and ideology. While Zionist thinking is characterized by clarity, continuity and intensity, Arab thinking and ideology are totally absent, especially when connected to the confrontation with Israel. We know that the Zionist plan to establish a Jewish state in Palestine is an old one which goes back to Zionist writings around the end of the 19th century and Zionist conferences held at the beginning of this century. Zionist thinking is distinguished by a rare continuity in its appeal for the expansion of this state and for guarantees for the expansions that do take place. The Zionist scheme proceeds in accordance with a long-term strategy and tactics of the moment which are determined by the nature of the historic stage and the nature of the Arab system itself.

The takeover of Palestinian territory, starting in the second decade of this century, was prior to 1948 the main link in the plan to establish the state. The establishment of the state was necessary to encourage the Jews of the world to migrate to it; Jewish migration to Israel is considered a necessary motive force for the appeal for the expansion of the state. Thus the 1967 war, the annexation of Golan, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the agreements for a peaceful settlement with Egypt and then the war in Lebanon were all steps that were carefully set forth and arose from the Zionist ideology which has been agreed on. Will the invasion of Lebanon be considered a step toward a further expansion of the state and a redrawing of its borders?

What is the Arab strategy in response to all this?

1. It is a question we are unable to answer, because there is no positive answer to it. The war in Lebanon has revealed the absence of an Arab idea, ideology or strategy for confronting the Zionist enemy when danger flares up. Isn't it conceivable that what has happened in Lebanon will become an Israeli pattern for dealing with Arabs in other countries and other capitals? What are the Arabs doing? This inspires anxiety and fear for the future within us and prompts us to gather up the fragments of our minds in the need to formulate such an ideology, which is now lacking.

Second, Israeli strategy. Israeli strategy is based on three elements that are organically interrelated and in their totality constitute a dangerous challenge to Arab national security.

A. The element of security. The Israeli notion of national security is one that is peculiar to the Zionist state, which is colonialist in nature and origin. This notion is founded on an ideology of expansion which has two planes, horizontal and vertical. On the one hand, it is founded on the acquisition of further land, in Palestine itself or neighboring Arab countries. A simple glance at a map of the establishment and distribution of Israeli settlements on the West Bank will drive home to us that Israel is building them to keep them and considers them an inseparable part of the Israeli state. The annexation of Golan is further assertion of the thinking behind the territorial expansion, and the occupation of one third of Lebanon makes it clear that one cannot rule out the possibility that Israel will annex southern Lebanon to realize the dream of taking over the waters of the al-Litani River. This horizontal expansion will bring about more than one Israeli objective. First, it will provide a geographical heartland for the defense of Israel during its wars with the Arabs. Second, it will provide Israel with the water it needs, since it actually is suffering from a water shortage. Then it will provide Israel with new sources of wealth and food, especially from the West Bank.

On the other hand, this ideology is founded on vertical expansion: expansion in the acquisition of the greatest amount of weapons to achieve qualitative and quantitative superiority over the Arab countries as a whole. Israel is helped in this superiority by the fact that the United States of America considers that guaranteeing this superiority is an American responsibility, and Zionist groups in the United States put pressure on the American government if it is dilatory in committing itself to maintaining this superiority.

This aspect of the Israeli notion of security is a fundamental necessity in attaining geographic expansion and acquiring territory by force.

B. The element of recognition and acceptance. Since the armistice agreements were signed in 1949, Israel has been trying to achieve recognition for itself or actual acceptance in the context of the system of the Middle East. We know that recognition is a complicated legal process and also a delicate political condition which requires specific arrangements, while acceptance is something deeper. Recognition can take place at the level of governments, and that can be enough, while acceptance is a social, cultural, economic and also unofficial activity involving peoples. Acceptance, in Egyptian-Israeli relations, has been linked to the notion of normalization.

It appears that early Israeli attempts failed, whether they were made with Jordan, Lebanon or Morocco. Israel could not achieve any success worth mentioning until it arrived at the peaceful settlement with Egypt, the Camp David and Washington agreements were signed, a legal recognition took place between the two countries, and the possibility of achieving acceptance started to seem real.

Perhaps one objective of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the annexation of Golan, or the possibilities of threats against Jordan or armed confrontation with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the future, has been the desire to achieve the goal of recognition or acceptance, because this goal constitutes an important pillar of Zionist thinking and psychology. Haven't the Jews, throughout their European history, been isolated from the societies in which they live, and hasn't Israel been

considered a "ghetto" in the heart of the Arab regional system? Perhaps emerging from this "ghetto" through the medium of recognition, acceptance or both constitutes a basic element of Israel's future strategy.

C. Fragmentation of the West Bank. The success the Palestinians have achieved since the early sixties constitutes a fundamental threat to Israeli strategy, since the Israelis reject the Palestinian presence, identity and entity, bearing in mind the historic dialectic founded on the fact that the confrontation of an object and its antithesis must produce a new entity representing the best elements of this object and its antithesis. The Israeli presence in Palestine is the object, while its antithesis is embodied in Palestinian nationalism and the Palestinian entity. While the Israeli presence represents the ideology of expansion and colonial settlement, the Palestinian presence symbolizes a national struggle for liberation and self-determination. The clash and struggle between these two elements must result in a beneficial outcome, which could be embodied in the Palestinian state or something along its lines, and so on. Thus, Israel's strategy has been based on fragmentating the notion of the Palestinian cause, starting with the fragmentation of the Palestinians themselves since 1948 and 1967, and throughout the seventies, then fragmentating their leaders and undermining their achievements and their institutions, whether in Jordan or in Lebanon.

The fragmentation of the Palestinians themselves into groups and categories with no foundation, such as the Palestinians of Israel, the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, and the others in Jordan, Lebanon and the Arab and Western diaspora, followed by their categorization as extremists and moderates, terrorists and revolutionaries, is also related to that. Indeed, Israel's attempts to negotiate over autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza constitutes one means for fragmenting the Palestinian cause rather than concentrating on the essence of the cause itself, which is related to the establishment of the Palestinian state.

Third, Arab national security. The question now is, what are the Arabs doing to defend or guarantee their national security? This is a complicated and embarrassing question, but it is an important one. We consider that there are three components on which Arab security strategy must be based. These are all connected to long-range conceptions.

1. Formation of a single intellectual frame work for future Arab strategy, especially that related to the confrontation with Israel. This is basically the responsibility of Arab intellectuals and thinkers who are organically committed to the destiny of the Arab nation and the destiny of our future generations. Above that, it is the responsibility of conscious Arab nationalist forces. A proper political movement can begin only in a clear intellectual ideological context. This is a basic condition for building an Arab strategy for the future.

2. The establishment of a single Arab institution which will be concerned with national security. Let that for example be the Arab national security council, comprising, basically, people who have specialized theoretically, philosophically and practically in security studies and also including experts in the form of military figures, strategists, and academicians concerned with national security issues. The task of this sort of council will be to study sources of danger and

sources of threats, set out notions for coping with them, and offer advice in this regard. This council's task will also include the submission of studies on the possibilities of building and expanding democracy in the Arab nation, since there is a strong connection between a political system's ability to take initiatives in a democratic sense and its ability to defend national security. To this council's tasks one should add the need to improve the circumstances of the lives of Arab citizens and create a society that is closer to the values of equality and social justice.

3. After this, there remains a basic element in the strategy of the Arab future, and that is support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as a sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. What is meant by support here is the reformulation of Arab-Palestinian relations so that these will be based on democracy and the provision of an opportunity for the organization to set forth on political and military fronts to attain the Palestinian and Arab goal of establishing the Palestinian state.

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CSO: 4504/56

BRITISH FIRMS WIN MIDDLE EAST ORDERS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 36, 25 Oct 82 p 8

[Text]

British companies obtained contracts in the Middle East worth \$ 1 billion during fiscal 1981-82, representing an increase of around 50 per cent compared to the previous year. Middle Eastern business accounted for 30 per cent of all overseas contracts won by British firms during the year, according to a survey prepared by the Department of the Environment in London.

Saudi Arabia was the leading Middle East customer for British contractors, with projects worth \$ 345 million, a rise of nearly 300 per cent over 1980-1981. Next came the UAE with contracts valued at about \$ 253 million, although in terms of the value of work completed during fiscal 1981-82, the UAE total of \$ 324 million, was ahead of Saudi Arabia's \$ 236 million. In Iraq, British firms secured contracts worth \$ 98 million, or five times the total for the previous year. Orders from Oman rose in value from \$ 112 million to \$ 142 million, the survey said, adding that orders from Bahrain and Jordan had also increased.

CSO: 4400/87

DOCTORS DESCRIBE ACTIVITIES OF PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 Oct 82 p 7

[Text] THE DOCTOR'S six-year stint with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS) in Lebanon began and ended with a massacre.

Dr. Rio Spirgi is a Swiss citizen. He has worked in developing countries over the last 22 years as a public health administrator for UN agencies and for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). He spent several years in the early 1970s with the ICRC in Lebanon, and came back during the civil war of 1975-6. What he witnessed at Tel az-Za'atar at the end of the war moved him to put his skills at the service of the Palestinians.

"It was on the last day of the evacuation," he recalls, "as Red Cross officials negotiated the evacuation of the wounded and the women, children and the aged from the PLO stronghold of Tel az-Za'atar to Damour. We were barely able to keep the Christians in Ashrafiye from taking them off the trucks and slaughtering them.

"Then later, when thousands of others were waiting to leave, the militias of the Chamoun and Jemayel factions of the Christian forces overran the camp and started shooting at anyone in sight. You can't imagine anything so dreadful. You could die just by looking at it and feeling that you are totally powerless to stop it. In just under an hour, in broad daylight, they killed over a thousand people."

The wiry, articulate doctor last week recounted his experiences in Lebanon to a group of journalists in a Jerusalem café. He worked most of the last six years in the PRCS hospitals in the south, and left for Beirut just before the war. He

worked at the hospitals in the Sabra and Shatilla camps during the siege, and left for Cyprus on September 14, just hours before Bashir Jemayel was assassinated.

THE MASSACRE in the Beirut camps finished off what was left of the PRCS activities in Beirut, he says, after Israel had previously closed down the organization's four hospitals and several clinics in the south. He came to Israel to influence public opinion to press for more medical and housing aid to the Palestinians in South Lebanon and to protest the closing of the PRCS facilities.

He is particularly insistent on dismissing the notion that the PRCS was a part of the PLO, Israel's justification for shutting it down.

"I was the ICRC liaison officer to the PRCS, and even before I joined the organization I could see that it was an independent body that observed the Geneva convention. It had its own charter, was structured like any other national Red Cross society and didn't discriminate in giving treatment."

As he describes it, the PRCS emerged in the early 1970s to serve Palestinians in Lebanon whose numbers were growing both because of natural increase and because of the influx from Jordan after Black September. UNRWA didn't have the resources to expand its services, which were always limited to clinics, so a number of Arab doctors, financed by private donations, started to work in the camps.

Later, he continues, a full-fledged organization was formed, funded by

the member states of the Arab League, donations channeled through the ICRC and direct contributions by foreign embassies in Lebanon, especially Scandinavian countries. The PRCS has observer status in ICRC bodies.

Israel has been denied membership because the ICRC doesn't recognize the emblem of the Israeli society, the red Star of David.

SPIRGI insists that even though some of the PRCS funds are channeled through the PLO, the two are independent. He seems stumped, however, when asked whether it was only a coincidence that the head of the PRCS was none other than Yasser Arafat's brother Fathi. He claims that Fathi, an MD trained in public health, was not a member of any PLO body and that his relationship with Yasser was "not always good." Fathi was elected the head of the PRCS, not because he was Yasser's brother, but because he was one of the "architects of the organization and active in establishing ties to the ICRC." He was the second man to head the PRCS.

An Israeli expert on the PLO, however, has a different view. Dr. Ariel Merari of the Centre for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University says that there was "no doubt whatsoever that the PRCS is an official arm of the PLO and subordinate to it, just like the PLO news agency, Wafa."

Merari says that the PRCS fits into the PLO structure as part of the department of education and culture, one of the divisions of the

PLO Executive Committee, a 15-member body that serves as the PLO "government."

Spirgi's main concern, however, was not to discuss the Arafat brothers or PLO organizational charts. He claims that the medical situation of the refugees in South Lebanon had deteriorated seriously since the war.

He spent the last five years as medical coordinator for the PRCS in the south. Before the war, he says, the organization had hospitals in Sidon, Nabatiyeh, Tyre and Damour, and a number of clinics in the camps. They provided free treatment for all, Lebanese or Palestinian, which included emergency treatment, hospitalization, rehabilitation and even social assistance for the families of the sick and wounded. The emergency care and rehabilitation were particularly important, he says, due to the constant shelling and bombing of the camps by Israel and the forces of Major Sa'ad Haddad.

HE HEATEDLY denies that the hospitals had anti-aircraft positions on their roofs or that the PLO was allowed to place artillery positions next to the hospitals.

Israel, he claims, and not the PLO, violated the immunity of the hospitals by bombing and shelling them. This was also true, he said, during the siege of Beirut, when the Acre hospital in Shatilla and the Gaza hospital in Sabra were repeatedly hit by bombs and shells. He dismisses as "propaganda" the idea that the PLO built underground bunkers beneath the hospitals in Beirut.

He says that the PRCS was the only public health care system in the south that really functioned, especially in Sidon with its large Palestinian population. "The Lebanese government hospital (at Ein Hilwe) was badly staffed and didn't respond in times of Israeli attacks. UNRWA virtually disappeared during the attacks — they had a 'civil servant attitude' to their work, with no commitment."

Other public facilities that served the refugees were small clinics set up by some of the constituents of the PLO such as the Saika and the

Fatah, which Spirgi says were poorly equipped and staffed. Throughout Lebanon, he says, the PRCS had a staff of about 2,000, including dozens of foreign volunteers, doctors and nurses. The number of foreign volunteers in Beirut alone grew to about 100 during the siege.

PRESSED ON the ties between the PLO and the PRCS by his interlocutors, Spirgi conceded that it did function to a limited extent as a "medical corps" for the military arms of the PLO. The military groups had their own medics, he says, which they trained. But hospital care was provided to wounded terrorists by the PRCS, even though it has no field hospitals. Still, he insists that over 80 per cent of the war casualties treated by the PRCS were civilians.

The PRCS hospital in Sidon grabbed a few headlines in the weeks after the war when Israel detained three of the foreign volunteers there on suspicion of concealing terrorists. Two of the detainees, released in late June, were Norwegian, and the third a Canadian, Dr. Christopher Giannou. After his release, Giannou spoke at a PLO press conference at the UN, where he accused the IDF of murdering four terrorist suspects and torturing others.

The Sidon PRCS hospital was housed in a hospital previously run by a Christian doctor, which was taken over by the PLO. It was closed in late June, and until then the foreign staff had refused to accept aid from the IDF or Magen David Adom.

A PALESTINIAN doctor from Sidon who worked in the hospital disputes Spirgi's claim that it had nothing to do with the PLO. "Only those with special cards from the PLO were admitted for treatment," he says. "The PRCS was part and parcel of the PLO — its medical arm."

Another Sidon resident familiar with the hospital is Dr. Ramzi Shabb, the head of a private hospital across the street from the former PRCS hospital.

Shabb, a Lebanese Presbyterian, whose father founded Sidon's first hospital in 1927, says that the PRCS hospital served an important public health function in the area. It treated a lot of emergency cases and gave care free of charge or at a nominal charge to low-income Palestinian and Lebanese families who couldn't afford the city's private clinics and hospitals, which dominate medicine there. The government hospital hardly functioned even before the PLO came, he says.

Asked about the ties between the PRCS and the PLO, Shabb said he "doesn't know about their internal affairs." But throughout the interview he referred to his erstwhile neighbours as the "PLO hospital."

Shabb said that now there is a serious gap in medical care for the poor, many of whom live in the Ein Hilwe refugee camp. "They need a government hospital, and a good one," he said. "It is no great pleasure for a private doctor to treat a patient who must sell his car or house to have a needed operation."

Spirgi also said he wanted to give testimony to the commission investigating the massacre at Sabra and Shatilla. Although he wasn't there when it occurred, he feels that it was the "last phase of a process going on for years, of unprecedented murderous attacks on civilians. In early August during the Israeli shelling, we thought that you regarded us as sub-humans, and that you wanted to kill us all." He doesn't hold Israel directly responsible for the massacre, but . . .

Elaborating on his personal motivation in joining the PRCS, Spirgi said that his sympathy for the Palestinians stemmed partly from the fact that he was born in a Third World country, Brazil, and worked in many such countries. Although he is a pacifist, he often found himself in the midst of bitter and brutal conflicts, not only in Lebanon, but in Nigeria, Vietnam, Mozambique, Chile after Allende's assassination and as a witness to the India-Pakistan war. There, he worked in refugee camps containing over 10 million people.

Spirgi now wants to return to Lebanon to revive the PRCS clinics and hospitals in Beirut and the south.

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC CONFERENCE'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON AFRICA REPORTED

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 22 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by Ahmad 'Amir Sa'd: "At Conclusion of International Islamic Conference Meetings--Ibn Baz: 'Recommendations Made by Symposium Must Be Implemented'; al-Harkan: 'Murderers of Palestinians in Lebanon Are Brothers of Those Who Sold Africans in Slave Markets'"]

[Excerpt] Following are the recommendations of the International Islamic Symposium:

First, regarding Africa's economic, cultural and social problems, the symposium recommends the following:

1. Opening a larger number of vocational training institutes in all specializations, depending on the needs of the country where the institute exists, to teach Muslims crafts that enable them to earn a living.
2. Utilizing local raw materials, making use of skills mastered by the natives, encouraging the industries currently existing in the African countries and treating these industrial establishments as establishments governed by the Islamic religious trusts system so that they can survive.
3. Opening a larger number of aid centers, supplying them with foodstuffs and medicines and finding alternatives to the inducements offered by the Christian missionaries, especially for the African child who is tempted by the missionaries' gifts.
4. Opening a larger number of orphanages, homes for the needy and the retarded and kindergartens for children and providing them with sincere educators.
5. Opening a larger number of clinics and medical units and providing them with nurses and doctors trained in the Islamic call.
6. Building more mosques in the simple Islamic style, attaching to them centers for teaching the venerable Koran and supplying them with copies of the Koran and with religious books.

7. Supplying the schools and the educational institutes with textbooks, audio-visual aids and qualified teachers and bolstering their libraries with all the necessary references.

8. Urging charitable people and the official and popular circles to contribute to the Islamic societies and organizations operating among the Muslims in Africa and to supply them with convenient means of transportation, with document copiers, with Arabic, English and French typewriters and with stencil machines to enable the officials of these societies and organizations to expand the distribution of scientific, cultural, educational and guidance pamphlets among the Muslims they supervise.

Second, regarding the issue of the destructive currents facing Islam in Africa, the symposium recommends the following:

1. While thanking the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the aid it offers, the symposium urges the Islamic governments to allocate financial aid to bolster the activities of the Islamic organizations carrying out the Islamic call in African countries.

2. It urges efforts to draw up a comprehensive Islamic plan to counter the Christianization campaigns in Africa on the basis of coordination and cooperation among the Islamic organizations concerned with the issue, be they government or popular organizations.

3. It urges greater attention to the contents, form and publication of Islamic books in Africa in the various living languages and the popular African languages.

4. It urges Islamic governments in the Islamic African countries to ban foreign books and publications that harbor destructive ideas and urges Muslim clergymen in every African country to enlighten Muslims on the dangers of these ideas.

5. It appeals to the governments of the Islamic African countries to close the offices of the destructive movements, such as (al-Qadiyaniyah), al-Baha'iyah and the Masonic movement.

6. It urges the selection of several strategic locations in Africa for the establishment of Islamic radio stations to transmit in African languages, provided that these stations are powerful enough to cover the entire African continent.

7. It urges Arab ministries of religious trusts and Islamic affairs to offer recorded Islamic programs to the broadcasting authorities in the Islamic African countries.

Third, regarding the future of the Islamic call in Africa, the symposium recommends the following:

1. It calls on the Arab and Islamic countries that have specialized religious, scientific and technical institutes to expand their enrollment of Muslim African students so that they can become advocates in various spheres and carry out the duty of the call, of guidance, enlightenment and education, upon their graduation.
2. It recommends the holding of a semiannual and an annual conference to be attended by all the advocates in Africa under the leadership of delegates from the [Islamic] league and from the general headquarters of the scientific research, religious interpretation, call and guidance departments in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These conferences should be designed to review the issues, problems and difficulties in the advocates' work, draw up all possible programs, proposals and solutions to overcome these problems and refer whatever problems they cannot resolve to the higher authorities concerned for the formulation of proper solutions.
3. The advocate must not confine his call to just religious affairs but must also exert efforts to educate the Muslims economically, culturally and socially. The authorities concerned must devote attention to training the advocates in these spheres.
4. It urges advocates to follow the path of wisdom and gentle exhortation in fighting undesirable customs and traditions and in reviving sound Islamic customs and traditions, without slandering either persons or organizations or walking into pitfalls that might lead to worse consequences than the vice that the advocate is eager to fight.
5. It urges the advocate supervisors to issue a local monthly pamphlet, or a periodical, depending on the situation, to enlighten the advocates in every region as to the existing problems and the proper solutions for them, without embarking on jurisprudential disagreements.
6. Conduct youth camps supervised by the advocates to provide spiritual, cultural, educational and scientific care to Muslim youths.
7. It urges ceaseless efforts to revive the mosque's mission by restoring to the mosque the first mission established for it by the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, as a house of advocacy, an educational and cultural center and a consultative council held five times daily.
8. Instruct the advocate emphatically not to intervene in the partisan differences and political disputes of the country in which he operates and to devote his time to educating the Muslims and teaching them the sound principles of Islam.
9. It urges the Islamic societies and organizations to study Christian missionary methods and to counter them with comparable methods to avert their danger.

At the conclusion of the symposium, the conferees did not forget to express their profound thanks and appreciation to the Government of the Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia, beseeching God, may He be praised, to keep His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the servant of the two holy mosques, and his highness the crown prince. May God keep them both to nurture the Islamic action in Africa and to aid and assist the Islamic call in Africa generously.

The conferees also entrust his highness the secretary general of the Islamic World League to cable this on their behalf to his majesty and to his highness the crown prince, may God preserve them.

God is the giver of all success.

Regarding the future of Islam in Africa and the intellectual currents facing it there:

1. The symposium asserts that Africa is the continent of Islam, whether in the past when Islam entered it in its early days with the first migration to Ethiopia or at present when Islam has begun to spread its light anew in the revival that has come after a long slumber during which colonialism oppressed almost all of Africa.
2. The symposium recommends that the starting point for planning the Islamic action in Africa be "knowledge," i.e., full awareness of the actual current conditions in Africa's Islamic world.
3. The symposium recommends support for the spread of education to wipe out ignorance, which is an important loophole through which the intellectual currents penetrate to influence minds. It is also important to include Islamic elements within the educational curricula and to establish firm bases for the Arabic language in basic government and private education in the countries with a Muslim majority.
4. The symposium recommends that attention be devoted to spreading the Islamic book in Africa and to translating it into the local languages in a simplified form. It also recommends that the price of this book be reduced as much as possible to guarantee that it is disseminated on a broad scale.
5. The symposium recommends that attention be devoted to increasing the academic grants offered to African students at Islamic schools and universities because they are the best advocates of Islam in their countries. It also recommends that these grants not be confined to Islamic theology and that they include grants for theoretical and applied sciences in order to divert Africa's Muslim sons from the Western and communist countries where they receive their education, as well as the poisoned anti-Islamic ideas, and to make possible development of a Muslim generation to take charge of its countries' affairs deservedly and capably.
6. The symposium recommends that the number of cultural seminars and intellectual symposiums held with the sons of Africa be increased.
7. The symposium stresses the importance of continuing media activity which can play a decisive role in confronting the propaganda invasion.
8. The symposium recommends drawing up an Islamic action strategy based on:
 - a. Familiarizing the Muslim peoples with each other.

- b. Correcting views about Islam.
 - c. Rewriting Islamic history after purging it of its impurities.
 - d. Highlighting the virtues of Islam in a concentrated manner, especially those aspects pertaining to human rights and the place of learning in Islam.
9. The symposium recommends that efforts be exerted to establish a new type of Islamic center generally so that such a center includes a medical clinic, a school and a library containing simplified Islamic books in the popular languages and educational and recreational films, in addition to the mosque, which is the heart of a center. It also recommends that detailed studies be drawn up for a model of the desired center so that it be compatible with the African environment on the one hand and with limited resources on the other.
10. The symposium recommends that the league take charge of the necessary training courses for Africa's imams and advocates, with emphasis on the peculiar difficulties and problems facing the advocate in Africa.
11. The symposium recommends formulation of a complete strategy to confront the anti-Islamic currents in Africa based on:
- a. The environmental and cultural conditions in Africa in terms of the natural environment, the diversity of cultures, creeds and religions and the difference between one country and another insofar as the cultural traces left behind by colonialism are concerned.
 - b. Refutation of the lies of intellectual movements, exposure of their true nature and publication of small and easy-to-circulate pamphlets containing these facts and answering the falsities of these movements against Islam.
 - c. Exposure of the true nature of the movements that hide behind bright slogans, such as the Masonic movement and others that raise the slogan of fraternity, equality and freedom while engaging in malicious activity under the guise of offering social services.
12. It recommends that special attention be devoted to translating the phrases of the venerable Koran distorted by the Qadian group ['Ahmadiyah] and others, pointing out and correcting the distorted parts, warning against these translations and banning their circulation.
13. It recommends that attention be devoted in particular to Muslim children, to giving them an Islamic upbringing and providing them with care to counter the organizations that devote their attention to giving Muslim children a Christian and secular upbringing, thus raising an entire generation against Islam and the sons of Islam, such as the SOS organization.
14. It recommends adoption of the practical and proper methods of action vis-a-vis missionary activity. It also recommends that emphasis be put on the health, educational and aid services offered by the Islamic centers in cases of catastrophes.

8494

CSO: 4404/39

KUWAITI STOCK MARKET PROBLEMS VIEWED AS OFFERING BENEFITS

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 7 Oct 82 p 9

[Article: "Crisis of (al-Manakh) Stock Market"]

[T] Though it is true that the major part of the stocks exchanged in the Gulf stock market in Kuwait, known as al-Manakh market, belongs to Kuwaiti investors, since these investors have formed companies outside Kuwait to escape legal restrictions and to benefit from the advantages of the investment laws in some Gulf states, such as the UAE, it is also true that the primary damage caused by the crisis experienced by this market recently has been incurred by the Kuwaiti economy itself, especially the Kuwaiti banking system.

Signs of Lack of Confidence

There are some signs that cause a lack of confidence, such as the fact that some Western banks refrain from cashing checks drawn on Kuwaiti banks and the fact that some other banks demand sureties in dealings with Kuwaiti banks. This reflects lack of confidence in the capability of the Kuwaiti banking system.

This doesn't mean that there are actual justifications for this lack of confidence, considering that the financial position of most Kuwaiti banks is still strong by all legal and economic criteria. But there are numerous international financial centers that are interested primarily in seeing the Kuwaiti stock market disappear as one of the most active world stock markets in the past 5 years. The Kuwaiti stock market has been able to rise rapidly and in a few years to eighth place among well-established stock markets.

Arab Stock Market

The continued prosperity of the Kuwaiti stock market signifies an expansion of the Arab stock market as a whole and means, for the first time in the history of the Arab countries, the availability of an effective instrument to organize and channel the investment of Arab monies.

The past decade witnessed a big flow of Arab monies to the West; one of the most prominent causes of this flow was the absence in the Arab countries of the instruments for organizing investment, especially the lack of a stock market.

The Arab monies thus turned to the West and became familiar there with numerous investment opportunities through organizing instruments, namely, the stock markets.

Even though the ability of the Kuwaiti stock market to organize and channel investment and to mobilize Arab monies is still limited compared with the volume of these funds, the coming years will undoubtedly witness tendencies that will perhaps bolster the inclination toward investing Arab monies in local investment spheres and in Arab spheres generally. This is why it is important to preserve the biggest and most advanced Arab stock market. This market does not belong to some speculators seeking a quick profit but is rather an instrument for mobilizing and reinvesting financial wealth in the Arab homeland.

Limits of State Intervention

The issue of the state's role emerges here and the question is raised as to the extent of the state's intervention in regulating the stock market and in making sure that the interests of the Kuwaiti economy and the interests of the Arab countries as a whole are not damaged, considering that this market is a main instrument in organizing the investment of Arab monies.

Some view the state as a social extension that is unnecessary for the individual's economic activity and as an inevitable evil in some cases.

This is a naive view that does not understand the philosophy of a free economy, the principles on which this economy is based and the stages of its development. In all the countries where the economic system is based on liberal principles or on economic freedom, there are organizations and structures that have been formed historically over long periods of state activity entwined with individual activity.

Law Governing Activity of Stock Markets

Monies have grown over historical phases during which capital accumulated as a result of expanded commodity production and technological development. Banks and stock markets have come to reflect organizations governed by specific laws from which the capital owner cannot deviate. In other words, the accumulation of capital in the capitalist countries has been accompanied by the development of a capitalist intellect with criteria and laws taken into consideration by all concerned.

In the Kuwaiti stock market, the situation seems completely different.

The initial monies invested are tantamount to surplus individual income and are not necessarily the fruit of work or production. This means that the entry into the stock market has taken place without a historical context and at a time when the values, traditions and laws governing the capital's movement have not been formed.

The main preoccupation of most capital owners is to reap a quick profit and to double this income through speculation. Speculation in the stock of companies founded on paper only and the stock of companies that have not gone into operation yet is nothing but the embodiment of this tendency for speculation and of the fact that the Kuwaiti stock market activity is devoid of the true investment concept found in the stock market role.

Resorting to State at Time of Crisis

When the catastrophe befell al-Manakh market, the state was the refuge and asylum for all. Big and small investors asked the state to intervene to find a solution. Because the market lacks the minimum regulatory rules, the automatic nature of the transactions within the market could not provide the means for settling the debts due on the investors.

What has happened in al-Manakh market is nothing but an early warning. Though the crisis to which the market was exposed has motivated all the parties concerned to accept the intervention of the state at the moment, there is no doubt that the situation requires a reexamination of the position of the state's role generally. Under no circumstances is this role opposed to the interest of the private sector and of investors. On the contrary, this role is intended in most cases to guarantee and develop these interests.

The lesson learned from al-Manakh market crisis proves this point.

8494

CSO: 4404/47

PORT AUTHORITIES SEEK STANDARD REGULATIONS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 37, 1 Nov 82 pp 6-7

[Text]

Officials from ports in countries belonging to the Gulf Cooperation Council asked the GCC to study the standardisation of port regulations at the end of a two-day meeting in Riyadh last week. The officials also called for a study on ways to develop Oman's ports. the OPEC news agency reported in a dispatch from the Saudi Arabian capital. *OPECNA* quoted GCC Assistant Secretary General Abdullah al-Qais as saying that the meeting also discussed how to implement a joint economic agreement on loading, unloading and storage at Gulf ports and customs and tariff operations.

The call for standard regulations came after officials debated a Saudi Arabian working paper on the subject.

The officials also agreed on training programmes and exchanges of information, *OPECNA* reported. The officials, who came from ports in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman, are scheduled to meet again in Kuwait early in the New Year.

CSO: 4400/87

WEST GERMAN FIRM TO PROMOTE TRADE FAIRS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 36, 25 Oct 82 pp 6-7

[Text]

West Germany's exhibition, fair and congress company, AMK, has entered into a five-year partnership with the Gulf Arab Marketing and Exhibition Company (GAME) to plan and organise trade fairs in Abu Dhabi, it was reported from Berlin. The company, which has 10 years' experience in handling trade fairs overseas for the West German government, will be mainly responsible for finding exhibitors from Western Europe and elsewhere for a substantial programme of events to take place in Abu Dhabi, where an exhibition centre recently opened.

The first will be an exhibition of special-purpose ships and harbour vessels due to open on February 24, 1983 and visitors from state-owned and municipal port authorities in the Gulf region and the Arab world are expected to join those from ministries, repair yards and private port operators. This will be followed by the first international exhibition for consumer electronics in the Gulf area to be held from March 16-20, 1983. The Audio-Video Fair has been timed to coincide with the conference of Gulf Ministers of Information and Culture. Cable projects and the unification of Gulf states' information systems are expected to feature on the agenda of the GCC meeting.

AMK will also organise the Gulf region's first international agriculture fair from October 2-7, 1983. The UAE is doubling its expenditure on agriculture and fisheries over the period 1981-85, compared with the previous five-year period, in an effort to reduce its dependence on imports of agricultural produce. These rose to \$2.5 billion in the five years to 1980 and are expected to amount to \$8.7 billion by 1985.

No final plans for 1984 have been made, but proposals being studied by AMK and GAME are understood to include exhibitions on energy, petrochemicals, building, maintenance and cleaning, industrial security equipment, sporting goods, consumer goods and a German industrial and cultural week, all to be held in Abu Dhabi. Under the cooperation agreement, AMK is to represent the UAE exhibition company at trade fairs in the West and will provide training for its staff.

UNIDO MAY OPEN OFFICES IN GULF

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 36, 25 Oct 82 p 7

[Text]

The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) may open regional offices in several Gulf states to encourage local industrial products, the OPEC new agency reported last week from Abu Dhabi. *OPECNA* said a proposal by UNIDO to open the offices will be debated at a meeting in Abu Dhabi of the Arab Organisation for Industrial Development on October 26. The Arab organisation's conference is to be held two days after a meeting in Taif, Saudi Arabia's summer capital of the Industrial Cooperation Committee of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The question of industrial growth in developing countries meanwhile figured largely at the UNIDO meeting in Madrid. Abdel Rahman Khane, UNIDO's Executive Director, stressed that future markets with the greatest potential lay in the Third World, adding that development of these markets would benefit countries of the industrialised North. The latter could only emerge from its current recession by promoting the future prosperity of the Third World, he said. "Too often, we tend to forget the real significance of Third World markets," Mr Khane declared at the opening session of UNIDO's First Consultation on Industrial Financing. He emphasised that now was the time for cooperation between industrial and developing nations to take what he described as "innovative measures" to increase overall industrial capacity throughout the world through the industrialisation of developing states. The industrial states would benefit from Third World purchases of capital goods and services. Mr Khane noted. But he also warned that developing countries could only achieve growth if they were able to receive financing for foreign exchange purposes on terms that would not cripple them.

The problem of financial terms for industrial development was also the main theme of a speech to the meeting by Spain's Minister of Economy and Commerce Juan Antonion Garcia Diez. He called for a search for means to promote a greater volume of financing through "more fluid channels" such as multilateral guarantee schemes, trust funds, South-South cooperation, co-financing and export-import institutions.

EVENTS FAVORABLE TO GOVERNMENT WAR EFFORT PUBLICIZED

Railroad Agreement Signed With USSR

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, November 2 (Bakhtar).— Two agreements on regulating the railroad and railway bridge, called the Friendship Bridge and at the Hairatan Port were concluded between the Governments of the DRA and the Soviet Union here yesterday.

Under these agreements, necessary facilities will be provided for loading and unloading and the import of commercial commodities and other transit goods via the Soviet Union.

Another agreement for the establishment of a joint Afghan-Soviet company named "Strass" for loading and unloading of commodities was also signed yesterday.

Under this agreement, the company will start func-

tioning at Hairatan port at the end of this year.

These agreements were signed on behalf of the DRA by Mohammad Khan Jalal, Commerce Minister and Kol Pakov, chairman of the Soviet delegation and Deputy Minister of all union railways of the Soviet Union. The Deputy Minister of Ports and Transit of the DRA and the General President of the Seyoz Strass of the Soviet Union also signed the contract.

During the signing ceremony, Jalal and Pakov exchanged speeches and called the conclusion of these agreements another step for the ever further consolidation of fraternal and friendly relations between the DRA and the USSR.

2,500 Rebels Surrender

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 30 Oct 82 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, October 30 (Bakhtar).— Two thousand and five hundred persons, who had earlier joined the counter-revolutionary groups of SAMA and so called "Hezb Islami" (Islamic Party) of Gulbuddin under the influence of enemy propaganda, have surrendered to the Government authorities in district Mir Bachakot, Kabul province, and joined the revolution defenders' group.

They said they were surrendering in recognition of the reality of the Saur Revolution, the humanitarian policy of the Government and the futility of resistance against revolution. They were availing themselves of the General Amnesty decree of June 18.

A grand function held on the occasion in the district yesterday morning was attended by over 6,000 residents of Kalakan, Baba Keshkar, Mashwani and other villages of the district.

A gala feast was organised on the occasion.

The gathering, which presented scenes of the local people's enthusiasm over the event, was attended by the representatives of those 2,500 who joined the revo-

lution defence groups with their arms.

Appreciating the "good and benevolent action of the deceived brothers and compatriots", a representative of the security forces said: "These deceived compatriots, who were previously linked with the count-

He expressed repentance for his past actions. He pledged to "fight with all my might for achieving the lofty and humanitarian objectives of the Saur Revolution".

Waisoddin, a former member Gulbuddin band, also disclosed the "inhuman and bestial crimes" of the band and pledged "every cooperation with the revolutionary Government."

Among other speakers were Ghulam Faruq, Shokrullah known as "Shaki", and Fazl Haq, who on behalf of "other deceived compatriots" assured the party and the Government that "henceforth we will not allow any group to act against the interests of the toiling people."

Malik Abdul Samad, on behalf of the toilers of Kalakan, praised the "benevolence of these deceived bro-

thers". He added that "our toiling people are realising the humanitarian policy of the revolutionary Government and recognising their enemies more and better with every passing day and they are fully confident that the crushed enemies cannot confront with the revolution defenders".

The Governor of Kabul and Mawlawi Abdul Wali Hojat, president of the Islamic affairs department, in their speeches, described "this action of our deceived compatriots" as "benevolent and in accordance with the principles of Islam".

They also conveyed the good wishes of the party and the Government to the toilers of the district.

The participants of the gathering took out a massive march at the end, chanting slogans like "Victorious be the Saur Revolution and its evolutionary phase", "The party and the people are together", "We defend our revolutionary Government", and "Defeat and shame for the enemies of the revolution".

The marchers performed the national dance (atan) at the end.

Success of General Amnesty

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 31 Oct 82 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

As a major turning-point in our contemporary history, the landslide victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new and evolutionary phase, paved the way for the realisation of the long-cherished aspirations of the masses, termination of injustices and a march towards progress in our homeland. The revolution, which rejected all forms of oppression and tyrannies by a handful of oppressors and parasites, endowed our long-suffering working people with fraternity, equality and justice so that they may properly utilise all their strength and power for rebuilding their homeland, obliterating all backwardness from the country and lay the foundation of a free and progressive Afghanistan.

But, imperialism which by nature is in opposition to such progressive movements everywhere and considers them contrary to its global vested interests, once again resorted to conspiracies and plots against revolutionary Afghanistan. By escalating fratricide, arson and devastation, it seeks to create obstacles against the revolution and the broad masses of the working people of Afghanistan who are determined to become the masters of

their destinies and forge ahead.

Revolutionary experiences prove that the path chosen for realisation of the aspirations of the masses, an end to injustices and oppression and for the well-being and prosperity of the masses will finally end in victory. The will and determination of the people to uproot despotism, exploitation and oppression are invincible.

The bloody imperialism and its vile designs against the defenceless people of Afghanistan have now been clearly exposed to the people. Now, our toiling compatriots have well realised of the malice and ill-will of imperialism and its cohorts and their conspiracies.

Therefore, fully realising the righteousness of the Saur Revolution, and its new phase, our people, with every passing day further consolidate their ranks around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, vanguard of the working class and all toiling people of the country, as well as the revolutionary Government, giving decisive answers to imperialism, hegemonism, the vandals and the enemies of the progress of the homeland.

Recently, we have been witness to the landslide vic-

tories of the defenders of the revolution on the hot battle-fronts and the remarkable increase in the number of those, deceived earlier by the counter-revolutionaries, returning to their people. Repenting past actions against the interests of their working compatriots, the returnees volunteer to join the revolution defenders' ranks.

Availing themselves of the decree of General Amnesty, another 2,500 persons who had earlier joined the counter-revolutionaries under the influence of the enemy propaganda have surrendered to the Government authorities in district Mir Bachakot, Kabul province, the other day. They have joined the revolution defenders' ranks in recognition of the reality of the Saur Revolution, the humanitarian policy of the Government and the futility of resistance against the revolution.

This is yet another testimony to the realisation of the humanitarian policy of our revolutionary Government by our working people, recognition of their foes and friends and the fact that conspiracies of imperialism, hegemonism and all enemies of our homeland and revolution are doomed to a shameful defeat.

Soviet Moslems Back Karmal Regime

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 31 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Text]

KABUL, October 31 (Bakhtar)— Following is an open message from the Muslims of the Soviet Union addressed to the world Muslims:

In the name of God Almighty and Benign,

We, Muslims of the Soviet Union, are observing with great concern the aggressive actions of the US administration which cause direct interference in the internal affairs of independent Afghanistan. Our concern is not only due to having common borders between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, but due to the traditional ties of the Muslims of Soviet Central Asian republics with the Afghan brothers based on our common faith. Ethnic and religious relations link us with each other.

We, the Soviet Muslims, have highly evaluated the policy of the new Afghan Government which pays respect to Islam, as a fundamental principle for building a new society, from the very beginning of its proclamation.

Respect of the leadership of the DRA for Islam has accomplished increasingly constructive, and solid work. We have been witness to the good beginnings such construction

of new mosques, schools, hospitals, industrial organisations and agricultural cooperatives.

All the thoughts of the revolutionary Government have focussed on service to the toiling Muslims and building a peaceful and prosperous life for the people. Whatever the new Government does is in the interest of the sacred religion of Islam and its followers.

Our brothers in Afghanistan support the local and foreign policies of the new Government. They do not want the fratricidal war to continue but they want peace and tranquillity. However, the enemies of the Muslim people of Afghanistan think of other things, and they want the country to become a river of blood.

The Soviet Muslims condemn with hatred the crimes of the terrorist bands who are despatched to the territory of Afghanistan from abroad and resort to deeds contrary to Islam and the Shariat, the instructions of holy Koran, and mercilessly murder their countrymen, women, old men and children. These bandits set fire to holy books, and Islamic libraries, destroy mosques, insult and kill their own believers. Many religious leaders have fallen victims of these atheists. These bandits

have forgotten that God Almighty sees every thing and will visit wrath upon them against their crimes.

DESTRUCTIVE

Holy Koran says that the dirtiest people are those who omit to mention the name of God in places of worship and try to destroy these places. They enter there with fear and panic.

'Disreputation and ignominy in this world and great punishment later are fixed for them.' (Koran, Sura 2, verses 108-114).

These people who have lost themselves, can they name themselves Muslims and followers of Islam while they try to explode the most sacred shrine of Hazrat Ali? These bandits who consider themselves "defenders of Islam" are, in reality, the tools of imperialist forces under the domination of the US. Washington has not shown its hostility to Islam only in Afghanistan.

Tens of thousands of Muslims of Iran had been killed as a result of cruelties of Shah who was the executor of Washington's policy in the East. Thousands of Muslims of Palestine and Lebanon have been killed by the Zionists, who were inspired

by the US imperialism, in a most brutal manner. If today Muslims are killed, Islamic shrines are destroyed, if the enemies set fire on the territories of Muslims, then, the blame for all these lies with the anti-Islamic policy of the US.

All followers of our sacred religion should unite for preserving sacred Islamic places against the efforts of international imperialism and avert its hostile interference in the internal affairs of the Muslim countries and the DRA is among them. We should force imperialism to stop the undeclared war launched against the young republic, which is busy building a happy society, and a society of no despotism and a society of free and fraternal Muslims.

Z. Babakhanov, Mufti and President of the Religious Institute of Central Asia and Khazakistan.

T. Taznif, Mufti and President of the Religious Institute of the European Part of the Soviet Union and Siberia.

M. Gikiev, Mufti and President of the Religious Institute of the Muslims of North Caucasia.

Allashokor Pashazadah, Shaikh-al-Islam and President of the Religious Institute of Muslims of Transcaucasia.

KARMAL EXPOUNDS GOVERNMENT POLICIES AT HERAT RALLY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 26, 30, 31 Oct 82 pp 2, 3

[Speech by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council]

[26 Oct 82 p 2]

[Text]

Following is the text of speech by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC, in a massive gathering of party activists and the people's representatives of the Herat province

Esteemed representatives of social organisations, the National Fatherland Front, trade unions, the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan and the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan, representatives of esteemed and patriotic citizens of the Herat city and province.

I am pleased to have an opportunity to meet you and to convey to you the greetings of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The country's leading officials, members of the Ce-

ntral Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, members of the Revolutionary Council and Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are time and again, and more than before, visiting the provinces, the cities and the districts recently and meeting the people. These meetings are one form of practical implementation of the decisions of the countrywide conference and the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a manifestation of the democratic nature and essence of our revolutionary state, the major aim of which is a permanent supervision of the welfare of the people. We want to see with our own eyes how our people are living; we want to know ever better and more deeply about the events taking place.

Of course, such visits

and meetings with people are not simply aimed at a mere acquaintance. These visits will help us discharge the practical duties, remove the shortcomings and take measures towards the ever more successful advance on the path of building a new society.

On the other hand, every one of these visits is a form of presenting a report of the Government to the people, because the people should know what the situation in the country is and what steps the party and the revolutionary state are taking for the welfare of the toiling individuals.

For this very reason, I am now here in the proud city of Herat, the famous city with great historical and cultural traditions, a city whose reputation has gone far and wide outside the country also, the ancient city with a shining future.

(To be continued)

[Text]

In the course of consecutive centuries, ancient Herat has seen innumerable wars, calamities and human sufferings. Unfortunately, in the years after the Saur Revolution too, the people of Herat suffered great difficulties and tests.

In this connection I wish to point out that we all, together and with joint efforts, should struggle to see that nothing similar to this is ever repeated.

Esteemed comrades.

The Saur Revolution, which gained victory through the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan due to the will and wants of the people and with their support, declared the principle of equality and social justice.

FOR PEOPLE

For this very great and noble aim of ours, we came out for the realisation of deep socio-economic transformations in the interest of the toiling masses of Afghanistan. We want our beloved country, revolutionary Afghanistan, to be a powerful and blossoming country and our people to enjoy the needed moral and material wealth such that no one would suffer any despair and insult and so that justice is changed into an unchangeable and constant law of life of our society. We want industries to grow in the cities of Afghanistan and the toiling peasants to be busy in villages and towns in peace and freedom with their noble work

on their plot of land. Our goal is to see that every Afghan possesses a shelter worthy of a human life and that everybody gets enough food and clothes, and that the light of knowledge and education illuminates the life of every one of our compatriots. With respect and consideration to the holy religion of Islam, while implementing the revolutionary transformations, at the same time, we respect and observe the customs and traditions of the people, the rights and mores of every nationality, every tribe and every province of Afghanistan.

I want to say frankly and with responsibility that the party and the Government will accomplish all possible measures to improve the life of every citizen of Afghanistan. And if we have not achieved this goal so far here in Herat or at any other place, the blame lies prior to all on the shoulders of the enemies of revolution and the enemies of the people and the homeland.

Those persons have taken a position against our popular policy who had the habit in the past of crushing and oppressing the people and living on a severe and inhuman exploitation of the toilers of Afghanistan.

Imperialism, hegemonism and the reaction of the region with the help of these very anti-people elements have launched an undeclared war against the people and revolutionary state of Afghanistan. The response of imperialism and their lac-

keys to our people's efforts to transformations and improvement of their life, was the rushing of weapons (to the counter-revolutionaries), destruction of the people's dwellings, schools, hospitals and other filthy and wild acts.

The enemies of our working people, together with the use of forces also used and are using deceit and cheating and false propaganda in order to mislead our people. But, despite the beastly attacks of imperialism, hegemonism and their lackeys, our popular state is being strengthened with the lapse of every day and the proud army of Afghanistan inflicts crushing blows

on the remnants of the bands which are still trying to disrupt the life and calm of the toiling people of Afghanistan. The Saur Revolution relies on the will of the people of Afghanistan and on the help and support of our long-standing friend and great neighbour, the Soviet Union, and on the solidarity and cooperation of all the progressive countries and forces of peace, and this means that our revolution is invulnerable.

No matter how much effort the enemies exert to block our advancement, we know it decisively that the days of their life have come to an end. Of course, the struggle is still continuing and we will intensify our blows against the armed counter-revolution and mercenary bands of imperialism. But at this very moment too, the task of the growth of

national economy, the productive forces, increasing of production of agricultural and industrial yields and commodities needed by the people lie before us vividly and completely, because this is the basis without which the improvement of the people's life and the successful execution of the duties of the national-democratic revolution will not be possible. And I should say frankly that the selfless and generous help of the great Soviet Union, our assured brother and friend, plays a valuable and unmatched role in removing our existing economic difficulties.

The Soviet Union helps us improve our economic condition, build the necessary establishments and create important branches of national economy, namely transportation, light industries, energy, irrigation, food materials and other required branches which are of great importance for the welfare of the people of Afghanistan.

In the past year a definite increase of the gross national product and about two to three per cent increase of the national income was maintained. The gross agricultural product also showed a definite increase in comparison with the preceding year.

At the same time, due to the criminal acts of the counter-revolution, the work of certain industrial establishments, transmission lines and transport facilities have been stopped or disrupted

and the work of building new installations is going forward slowly.

The aim of the enemy is clear. Being unable to achieve superiority by the force of arms, they are now making endeavours to disrupt the country's economy and jeopardise production, transport and trade in order to cause the people's hunger and to provoke the people against the revolutionary state. We have the duty to respond to these plots and endeavours of the enemy with decisiveness, adequate organisation and consistency in the implementation of the economic policy. We should not remain indifferent to and inactive against the temporary economic difficulties. On the contrary, removing them actively and mobilising the people in the struggle against these is the prime duty of the party committee of every member of the party and every administrative employee. This is the demand of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In this connection I wish to draw your attention to certain problems related to the economic situation of the Herat city and province, which is one of the most important regions of Afghanistan. The industries of the city and the province

comprise the organisations of cotton-processing, transport and carpet weaving and a number of food industries. They are not working badly in general. But, in all the organisations in Herat, the situation is not the same. The construction work of important economic projects such as the Salma Dam, the Textile Factory and the Herat Cement Factory has not been completed, coal has not been extracted from the Sabzak coal mines and the Herat Slaughterhouse is not working. Of course, there are reasons for it, but in each case the reason is different. However let us put the question like this: Do the party leadership, the Governor of the province and the state power organs have the ability to assure the completion of construction of these projects and the commencement of work in all the establishments? We are judging the political maturity, the ability to organise things and the practical characteristics of the leading officials on the basis of how successfully and at what speed they implement this instruction of the party Central Committee and the Government. Consider the reasons for the present situation in relation to every project carefully, prepare the specific plan of work, and assure its unbiased implementation. And the centre, in its turn, will try to give the necessary help and to support your

activity. I am sure that the party organisations of the Herat city and province will support this manner of considering the issue and will accomplish everything that relates to them for the fulfilment of the duty.

LAND REFORMS

It is necessary that a few words should be said also about the implementation of land reforms. Your province has all the necessary conditions for successful growth of agriculture in the interest of the toilers. But, in our view, the works related to the carrying on of land and water reforms is still advancing slowly. The pace of execution of the measures, which are anticipated in the resolutions of the joint committee of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for the continuation of land reforms should be accelerated. Some comrades mention the objective difficulties and conditions. Indeed, there are difficulties. But, if we do not remove them, they will remain the way they are. If no action is taken, there will be no results either. Comrades, I want to invite you to great activity and decisive consistency in the task of land reforms, one of the basic duties of our revolution. Its realisation, of the reforms, is a revolutionary duty of yours and ours.

I wish to speak on another aspect of our work in the field of economy which has an unbreakable link with the consolidation of relations of the party with the masses.

In the past times, the rulers of Afghanistan for centuries led the minds of simple peoples to think that they did not have any relations with the work of the factory, the plant, the district, the city, the province and the state. They used to popularise the idea that the worker should do only his work. A peasant, if he had a plot of land, should cultivate it, otherwise he should toil for the feudal. A craftsman should make his tools, and only the governors, the lords and the rulers would think about other things and supervise them.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan believe that every citizen of Afghanistan should have part in the improvement of life in the country. If there is disorder in the factory or the production is not properly organised, the primary party organisation and the workers should not remain silent. The peasants should not let the enemies set fire to their crops. The power organs, the Governors and the party committees do not have the right to remain indifferent towards the people who come to them in search of help, and do not have the right not to wo-

rk. It should be declared openly that the party and the state are at the service of the people and should at the service of the people with honesty, all devotion, humility and courtesy.

We must help the people so that they realise the fact that they are the real owners of the country, not the feudals, the privileged classes and the exploiters and oppressors. In other words, it is necessary that every toiler should feel his responsibility towards what happens and should render every kind of help to his popular state. The party committees and organisations are duty-bound to direct all this work. It is necessary that the toilers should be ever more broadly attracted to the task of establishing security. Now the number of factories, plants and villages is not less where the defence groups exist. If the enemies wanted to disrupt the conditions of peaceful work in these places, they will be faced with the jaw breaking and decisive reply of the toilers and peoples. In one word, when all the people rise against the bandits, and can end their lives ever faster, no power from abroad can help them.

Dear compatriots,

Herat is situated at the junction of two communication lines, each of which ends at the border of one of the two neighbouring countries. Herat is situated in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Union and Iran.

On the brotherly Soviet side, Herat has a common border with the Soviet Turkmenistan. The people of the Soviet Turkmenistan, who have reached the highest level of development, like other peoples of the Soviet Union, render internationalist and brotherly help to the people of Afghanistan.

[31 Oct 82 pp 2, 3]

[Text]

The border with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, is a frontier of friendship, peace and brotherly cooperation and good-neighbourliness. And we are confident that at this cooperation between the two countries is successfully developing and will develop.

We have the desire to have such a frontier with the other neighbour, the Islamic Republic of Iran. Unfortunately, we do not have such relations with Iran as should exist between two neighbours. Of course, the existence of such a situation does not emanate from our fault. You, noble and patriotic people of Herat, know well that it is very bad when no friendship and no efforts for cooperation, but a hostile approach and non-recognition of the present reality of our country are demonstrated by the neighbour.

But, I think that this situation can not last long because it does not accord with not only the interests of our people but with the interests of the people of Iran also. We rely on the fact that the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stand of Iran's revolution is concordant with the interests of our revolution. Of course there exist differences between us, which is quite natural. Differences in systems and policies exist between many neighbouring countries, of the world. But this will not prevent them from living like two good neighbours. We believe that, in all conditions there should be normal economic cooperation, contacts and constructive political talks on the bilateral issues and urgent problems of the world situation between the neighbours. Such a cooperation and contacts and talks still do not exist between

us and Iran, although we have common economic interests and in addition to it our positions are identical on a great number of issues of world politics.

We have repeatedly announced our readiness for the reestablishment of good relations with Iran and we are ready to express it again.

PROOF

With the implementation of our foreign policy, we have undeniably proved that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a peace-loving, progressive and nonaligned state. In the international arena and in the nonaligned movement, we have taken a stand against the threat of war, whether nuclear or conventional. We have deplored aggressive acts and supported the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy which aims at

prevention of general or local confrontations. Now, while the current events in the world have acquired a serious character, we are positioned totally on the side of the peace forces led by the Soviet Union and we vote in the international forums in support of the non-use of atomic weapons, limitation and finally abolition of other lethal weapons and for the relaxation of tension to be changed into a determining factor in the international relations.

In the affairs of our region also, we pursue a peace-loving policy. In the past two years, twice we have presented specific proposals for the solution of the political situation create around Afghanistan. The diplomatic path traversed so far has been complicated and difficult. But the life has proved the soundness and righteousness of our principled position. As it is known, negotiations between the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan have been started through the special envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation, and although our proposals demand wider and deeper strides towards solving the problems, but still we consider the commencement of negotiations with Pakistan as a step towards the proper path. Unfortunately the Iranian leadership has remained outside these contacts and

discussions on issues pertaining to the political solution of the problems. It should be known that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is not born of imagination and silhouette, but is a political and physical reality which should be accepted. Regardless of whether anybody likes it or not, we do exist, we are growing, we struggle and we will be victorious and will build the new life. This is inalienable right of our people. In relation to this question, here in ancient Herat, which in many respects is a symbol of our historical and cultural closeness with Iran. I express the hope that relations between our two countries will be channelled again in the direction of friendship and good neighbourliness, and I assure that Afghanistan will traverse the half way related to it with honesty and sincerity.

Dear comrades,

At the end of my talks, I also wish to speak about another issue, namely the growth of the people's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as a leading and guiding force of our society, as the pioneer of the working class and all toilers of our country. Now our party is going through a period of rapid growth and completing its ranks by accepting the best and most conscious workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, youths, students and representatives of all tribes and nationalities. Those

are included in the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan who accept with all their wisdom, conscience and heart its noble and honest aims and are ready to implement the ideals and plans of the party with their work and struggle. This is an indication of the growing credibility of the party among the people and its ever stronger relations with the masses.

The consolidation of the party and the raising of the unity and integrity of its ranks is a complicated and multifaceted process, from the many aspects of which I want now to point out one aspect. The question is about the consolidation of discipline and the elevation of the responsibility of every party member.

We have undertaken the historical responsibility of the destiny of our beloved country, Afghanistan, the destiny of the Saur Revolution and the destiny of our toiling and noble people.

Our power, the guarantee of our today's and tomorrow's achievements, lies in the iron discipline, proper organisation and our unity of action. We look forward to a shining future with confidence and optimism and have no doubt whatsoever in the decisive and rapid victory of our just cause.

Long live the Saur Revolution!

Long live the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan!

Victory is with us and with the valorous people of our beloved Afghanistan!

(Concluded)

CSO: 4600/96

SCHOLAR PROPOSES APPROACHES TO NEGOTIATING WITH ISRAEL

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 19 Oct 82 p 7

/Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Sa'id: "Israeli Negotiating Techniques and the Outlook for a Comprehensive Settlement"/

/Text/ The world has been in an uproar over the Beirut massacre. Before that, it was in an uproar over Israel's invasion of West Beirut, the assassination of Bashir al-Jumayyil, the invasion of Lebanon, the Palestine resistance's departure from Beirut, the massacres of Sidon and Damur, and the strike at the Iraqi nuclear reactor, but it got over them. In each case, Arab slogans were raised, statements were issued "condemning the aggression," delegates put on their gold-rimmed glasses in the halls of the United Nations to issue "balanced" resolutions requesting Israel to withdraw from its new Arab conquests, and, ultimately, Israel remained as it was, in control of the land, peoples and governments and imposing its expansionist strategy, which is based on advancing Israel as a great power in the Middle East.

What happened recently, its outrageous, terrible nature notwithstanding, must be understood from the standpoint of Israeli negotiating techniques and the Arabs' weak negotiating position. The Arabs, unfortunately, make a distinction between military and diplomatic action. They imagine that what they have not won in the arena of combat they can gain in the diplomatic arena. The Arab rulers cause their peoples to understand, or try to cause them to understand, that the negotiating process means using diplomacy to solve international disputes: combatants and belligerents sit together directly or indirectly in closed rooms, especially in the presence of an appropriate intermediary, to reconcile their differing demands. In this regard, Arab governments have relied on three diplomatic techniques:

1. Resorting to the United States, on grounds that it might "put pressure on" or "entice" Israel to cease its aggression, since this aggression threatens the "stability" of the region.
2. Rushing to the United Nations to issue new resolutions condemning Israel, in the hopes that these resolutions will get past an American "veto."
3. Holding an Arab summit meeting to condemn the aggression and present a new "settlement" plan that might be acceptable to Israel and, more important, the

United States. For the plan to gain acceptance, the Arabs will recognize Israel and relinquish pre-1967 Palestine, if in exchange Israel accepts a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Israel, to the contrary, has a totally different understanding of the negotiating process. Indeed, Israel understands this process--as it has always been understood in history--as meaning the use of military, political, diplomatic, and propaganda methods to change the adversary's values and arrive at an agreement with him to achieve national demands. Proceeding from this approach, the Israeli national objective is to realize two goals, first, the geographic and demographic assimilation of all of Palestine at this stage, and second, the establishment of Israel as a country dominating political and economic conditions in the Middle East region.

Proceeding from this premise, one can understand the events of the recent period, from the strike at the Israeli nuclear reactor to the Beirut massacre: Israeli conduct is aimed at preparing the region, its people and its governments, psychologically to accept these two goals. In this respect, Israel is operating from a strategic, not tactical, and long range, not short range, premise. It is striving to have Israel not so much "loved" as "feared" in the region. The important thing is that the Arab nation should understand, and that it should be firmly established in its spirit that Israel cannot be hurt and that it is capable of inflicting cruel blows.

The point of departure for realizing these goals is to have Israel always hold the reins of initiative by imposing a new fait accompli every day which the Arab governments will rush after, as if it were a sudden new discovery which had not previously been known.

Israel occupied southern Lebanon, and the talk about its withdrawal became a cover-up for its actual annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. It then occupied Beirut, and the talk about its withdrawal from the Arab capital was a cover for what it was doing in southern Lebanon.

Each time, Israel makes its withdrawal (if it takes place) seem like a massive concession which it is offering for stability in the region and for "world peace."

Israeli negotiating techniques, thus, are based on the following:

Israel imposes a fait accompli which essentially assumes the form of the extension of Israeli territory to new areas that Israel had not previously claimed were part of its territory.

Israel always starts the takeover process by claiming a limited objective to achieve "security" or "peace in Galilee."

This objective extends to the borders and expands in accordance with Israeli military capability and the extent to which the iron heels of the Israeli "defense" army can reach it.

The expansion takes place alongside a high degree of intensified killing and organized destruction, whether in Dayr Yasin or Beirut, with the objective of creating a psychological state of affairs that is marked by a complex of fear and astonishment at Israeli military power.

After this psychological pattern is established, Israel starts to claim that it is entitled to what it has obtained by force and that the concessions it makes are the result of its desire for peace. These concessions always occur slowly, after the greatest possible amount of pressure has been brought to bear. Israel seems like the party which is sacrificing its right to exist. In the course of this process, what Israel has seized by a recognized "right" must be negotiated over. Therefore the West Bank becomes territory where rights to sovereignty are subject to dispute, and southern Lebanon becomes the object of discussion, in view of its vital nature for Israel's military and economic "security."

Israel links the limited process of giving concessions to strategic and political goals which realign conditions in the whole region. Its withdrawal becomes contingent on having Phalangist leaders in Lebanon and a Syrian withdrawal to Syrian borders.

The Israeli gamble is founded on the consideration that the Arab countries will continue to understand the negotiating process as a diplomatic one, even if there are no changes in the actual balance between themselves and Israel, that ultimately the Arab governments will withdraw within themselves and be preoccupied with their domestic problems or fight among themselves, and that as long as Israel actions pass undeterred, Arab diplomats will content themselves with discussing the most beneficial ways to put pressure on Israel diplomatically by obtaining resolution upon resolution condemning the aggression, so that the world will be amazed and have compassion for the Arabs while the Israelis are most assuredly laughing uproariously!

The final Israeli gamble is connected to the United States and is related to the previous one. In spite of American "anger" at the latest Israeli acts, and although Reagan's plan for a settlement does not correspond with Israel's ambitions at the current stage, the Israeli-American dispute remains a tactical and tentative one, connected to form more than essence. The Israeli command knows that the United States views Israel as a strategic ally which can realize two objectives: restrict the Soviet presence in the Middle East region and keep the Arab countries in a disgraceful state of defeat which will make them always run to Washington to alleviate Israeli military pressure, save Beirut, or permit the Palestinian resistance to leave Lebanon peacefully. Even now Israel has proficiently and capably realized these two objectives, in spite of the oppressiveness and bloodiness of its methods. On the one hand it has shown up the weakness of the Soviet Union and its friends in the region, and consequently has shown that alliance with the Soviets does not work. On the other hand, the expected has happened and the Arab governments have put their eggs in the American basket, anticipating that American diplomatic ability will achieve what the Arabs have failed to achieve through their own force. Because history is full of massacres and moral transgressions among nations, the American disgust at the pictures of mass murder in Beirut will soon be downplayed in keeping with American interests. The world has a tremendous capacity for forgetfulness.

The Israeli leaders also know that the United States, prompted by its own interests, will weigh a strong, capable Israel ally that can carry out American objectives, along with its own, against Arab allies which might perhaps be of use but are certainly not able to inflict damage. Thus a plan for a settlement in which Arab leaders will be preoccupied in expressing their acceptance, reservations or even rejection will suffice for the Arabs. The important thing is that the plan will gain time and soothe the unruly emotions of peoples and governments. The Rogers plan is not far removed from Israeli memory. In the course of this process, the American presence in the region will increase, as long as the belief prevails that America has all the cards in the game. The Israelis know that and the Americans know that. Do the Arabs?

11887

CSO: 4504/44

MEDIA EXPERTS ESTABLISH FIRST POLLING INSTITUTION

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 23 Oct 82 p 13

/Article by Usamah Saraya: "The First Scientific Center for Polling Public Opinion on Economic and Social Issues"/

/Text/ Measuring public opinion concerning our economic issues is an urgent necessity. Cairo University is preparing to establish the first scientific public opinion polling center and ascertain the masses' trends regarding current economic and social issues, such as the economic liberalization, its dimensions and effects, methods for reforming the course of the Egyptian economy, prices, savings, and means for encouraging the economic sectors in the government.

Dr Samir Husayn, dean of the Media Faculty and supervisor of the center, says:

"In spite of the importance of public opinion measurement and research in Egypt, efforts in this field have been limited and mediocre. Elections and referenda represent a disguised public opinion poll, but they are confined to the government framework and are carried out in accordance with specific rules and specific schedules which are linked to an issue or subject that has been raised in the context of politics, the government or the people."

Dr Samir Husayn adds, "We do not deny that many bodies have made efforts in this field, but they do not amount to more than 'opinion reports' or 'information reports' lacking in precision, objectivity and comprehensiveness; rather, they just give general indicators on certain subjects that preoccupy the attention of some people and cannot be relied upon for adopting decisions. There is also a scientific unit for measuring public opinion in the National Research Center which has carried out a number of research projects of importance; its role must be supported, expanded and developed. There are some private centers which are still in their initial stages and they must be supported further and their importance as neutral agencies for measuring public opinion recognized."

"Therefore, there is a very urgent need in Egypt to organize scientific and applied efforts toward support for public opinion polling activity in Egypt."

"One must also therefore stress the need to have a clear national policy for measuring public opinion in Egypt which would be based on the consideration that measuring public opinion is primarily a political and cultural issue, one that is directly

related to the degree of progress in the society, to the rate at which the political system's trend toward democracy is growing, and also to the need to devote attention to public opinion in all areas instead of ignoring it and assuming that one can be informed of it without scientific measurements. Therefore the Media Faculty and the university have addressed themselves to studying the establishment of a public opinion center. The center will not content itself just with studying public opinion domestically--it will also do this abroad, where for example it may carry out analytical studies of media materials published in the press with respect to all countries, a group of countries, international papers, the elite press, or publications and books, in addition to broadcast material or material presented on the radio or television, with the goal of becoming acquainted with the opinions and tendencies prevalent in these sources as far as all issues raised relative to foreign public opinion are concerned.

"The center will be broken down into a number of organizational units. Each one will be concerned with a specific specialized type of public opinion study. That will concentrate on economic and social and educational research. The center will offer three principal types of research services (of diverse kinds) in the field of public opinion:

"Public opinion polls.

"These will be to ascertain public opinion on an issue or subject in a specific field or fields on a rapid and immediate basis to learn the degree to which this issue or idea is accepted or rejected. This type of poll gives quick results and is characterized by speed and timeliness in coping with immediate requirements.

"Measurement of public opinion trends.

"This has the goal of measuring the intensity, depth and weight of public opinion and the extent to which it is concentrated on the issue under study, and studying the degree of acceptance or rejection.

"This type gives deeper dimensions, and a comprehensive, persuasive analysis, or public opinion trends in terms of strength, intensity and concentration in each type of public.

"Public opinion research.

"This is of use in providing the type of information and data needed to analyze the results of public opinion polls and measure public opinion trends on sound clear enlightened objective and scientific bases."

The Media Faculty dean added that the establishment of the center in the university would give it general advantages which must be present in this sort of center. These are:

Independence, neutrality, objectivity, and the use of scientific and programmatic aspects of study and measurement, since it is primarily an academic scientific center.

Dr Samir Husayn added that in its extended activity it would comprise all economic, social, media, educational, cultural and other issues.

Ascertaining public opinion and public opinion trends is necessary if one is to guide the decisionmaking process in various fields. In addition, proper decisions in the economic field, for instance, are connected to and have an effect on the political area, the social area, and so on.

Therefore, measuring public opinion, although on the surface connected to political aspects, serves other aspects with the same degree and competence.

The precise determination, polling and measurement of public opinion are also aimed at giving the government, with all its agencies, facilities, and production and service systems, greater clarity of vision and ability to calculate probable and possible conclusions.

Measuring public opinion certainly helps us learn what we need or what we want and our response upon getting or lacking what we need or want. It helps us make decisions in the light of actual circumstances, to strike a balance between needs and desires, and to realize development with the least amount of risk, since here risks and hardships are calculated and voluntarily accepted through conviction, knowledge, freedom and the bearing of responsibility.

Dr Samir Husayn says, "The center, in the first stage of its activity, will concentrate on studying a number of current economic issues, such as economic production, its dimensions and effects, the extent of encouragement of economic sectors in the government, consumption and aspects related to that, savings and aspects related to that, methods for correcting the course of the Egyptian economy, and prices.

In the Social Field

"Studying public opinion trends regarding certain social issues such as family planning, procreation, women's work, special studies and social laws and legislation. This also has the objective of measuring public opinion trends regarding issues of wages and work patterns, internal and external migration, education and educational patterns and trends, and university graduate employment policy, measuring the public's views toward new industrial and agricultural projects, new towns, housing policies and areas and patterns of land reform, and measuring the public's views on specific areas in which to set out plans aimed at developing regions, such as Sinai, for example. This requires intensified studies in various fields so that one may ascertain the information prevalent among the citizens on very numerous issues, with the objective of completing information that is lacking, correcting information which is erroneous, guiding and supporting information which is correct, and ascertaining the prevalent views, opinions and values among the citizens in the areas vis-a-vis specific issues in order to support positive features and eliminate negative ones.

"Also, ascertaining the citizens' requirements and opinions regarding the construction and redevelopment projects that can be carried out.

"Also, linking citizens in Sinai to the motherland in terms of information, knowledge, behavior and a feeling of total affiliation.

"Attaining an element of participation in the process of local development in its various forms in Sinai by conducting opinion polls on the most important recommendations in the realm of construction and redevelopment.

"Conducting opinion polls on the type of local legislation, laws and statutes that can be followed to accelerate construction and redevelopment rates.

"Conducting opinion polls on measurements of education, housing, agrarian reform, the media and communications, so that it will be possible to achieve development on realistic bases founded on actual recommendations on the part of that part of the citizenry that benefits from the services." Dr Samir Husayn adds, "We will also try to ascertain public opinion's views on the development of agencies of local government in all governorates by polling public opinion on all issues and subjects of a local complexion."

Dr Samir Husayn concludes his discussion on the new center's role: "We are aiming at cooperating with the Central Agency of General Mobilization and Statistics, the Family Planning and Population Agency and the Central Organization and Management Agency in all matters related to the measurement of public opinion regarding problems to which these agencies are exposed through research and study.

"Also, at cooperating with public opinion measuring organizations and centers abroad, especially as regards information available to these centers in fields of importance to Egypt and the scientific and programmatic ways, means and instruments that these centers rely on in conducting their studies, such as the Gallup Institute, the Harris Institute, and other institutes and centers in the world, with the objective of facilitating the transfer of this information to the Egyptian environment and making it function in keeping with actual application and practice."

11887

CSO: 4504/43

NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN PLANNING, PRICING SYSTEM ANNOUNCED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Oct 82 p 4

/Article by 'Abd-al-Mun'im Fawzi: "The Money Market: Reorganization of the Ministry of Planning and Restoration of the Price Agency"/

/Text/ Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, the minister of planning, is studying the reorganization of the ministry's sectors and departments, the creation of new sectors and activation of the National Planning Agency.

A study is underway on forming a price planning agency to take over the responsibility of drawing up price policies for various goods by which it will be possible to effect guidance after the bases and rules governing the setting of prices have been set out.

Planning Ministry sources state that the Price Planning Agency existed in the sixties; then a decree was issued suspending its activities. However, the reactivation and revival of this agency will require a new system.

Restoration of the Price Planning Agency

Dr Ramzi Zaki, expert in the National Planning Institute, says that the restoration of the Price Planning Agency may be explained by two reasons.

First is the intense wave of inflation that Egypt has been experiencing for a fairly long period and its growth to dangerous levels in recent years.

The second reason is the start of the activation of the national planning agencies.

He said that eliminating the phenomenon of the constant rise in prices through comprehensive economic and social policies will be concerned with uprooting high prices and controlling inflation.

Remedying Negative Features

Dr 'Abd-al-Latif Hafiz, the first deputy minister of planning and former vice chairman of the Price Planning Agency, says that the agency had been carrying out a study of costs, on the basis of which it had set out economic prices, which were supposed

to include profit margins that would enable producers to continue working and expand production. The agency was in charge of drawing up a price policy for various goods by various groups of essential and ordinary consumer goods.

However, the agency did not perform the pricing; rather, it set out the bases and rules that governed the setting of prices for various goods, which it submitted to various executive agencies for their guidance.

It was a sovereign agency which did not involve itself in setting prices for goods. There were shortcomings in the former agency, since price planning was based on predicting the prices of production and consumer articles that were imported and their effect on the plan. To remedy the previous shortcomings, the agency will need indexing economists who will be able to make sound predictions. The agency is a consultative one and commitments to prices will issue forth from the executive agencies that adopt the agency's recommendations.

Public Sector Prices

Muhammad Fathi 'Afiyah, chairman of the Central Department of Prices, Entries and Consumption in the Ministry of Planning, considers it necessary that the Price Planning Agency be restored, on condition that price policy be binding with respect to the public sector and on a guideline basis with respect to the private sector. This will create complications which must be resolved, since it will be necessary to review commodity prices, especially with respect to the public sector, since the price stability of public sector prices for a long period without changes in keeping with the prices of primary materials and wages leads to a deficit in surpluses and inflicts heavy losses on companies which are reflected in government revenues on the one hand and the liquidity of companies on the other, prompting them to borrow at high rates of interest, with the result that their costs rise. This will require that the situation be studied comprehensively and that solutions be set forth which will take these variables into account in each sector by submitting commodity prices in accordance with priorities and orders which will preserve market stability and prevent inflation. Although the plan was not binding in the case of prices in the private sector, the Planning /Ministry/ must be kept informed of changes occurring in these prices so that it can set out direct and indirect policies that will bring about a balance and will show concern for the interests of producers and consumers.

Dr Ramzi Zaki considers that price planning in the public sector will become reality only if production is firmly linked to the distribution of goods, in the sense that if the public sector produces a commodity, the distribution outlets must belong to the public sector.

11387

CSO: 4504/60

POLICE STEP UP PRICE CONTROL EFFORTS

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 5 Nov 82 p 2

[Text]

POLICE cracked down, on merchants and co-op shops workers tampering with prices and distribution of meat and chickens offered for sale at subsidised prices.

The swoop signalled the start of a major endeavour by law enforcement authorities to perpetually monitor the fluctuations of market prices and to act immediately upon sensing any change that might prejudice index prices particularly those of basic goods or consumer goods.

President Mubarak has repeatedly appealed to the public to co-operate with such moves by law enforcement authorities because public participation is substantial to guarantee the success of official measures meant to check market prices.

The Ministry of Supply and Home Trade together with the

Ministry of the Interior and Giza Governorate authorities collaborated to launch the campaign, which revealed striking violations of law and deviations in Mit Okba co-op consumer shop.

A store keeper in Mit Okba co-op consumer shop used to dispose of the stock of meat and chickens, offered for sale to the public, by selling it to restaurant owners.

Restaurant owners used to tip the store keeper PT 10 for each kilo while they charge their customers LE 3 for the chicken that costs only PT 125.

Maintaining a vigilant watch the police detected a cart loaded with a consignment of 47 boxes of chicken for delivery to the restaurants. The cart was just delivering the chickens when officers of the police force made

then swoop.

The Minister of Supply and Home Trade issued a decision closing down three shops for three months starting Wednesday, November 3. This decision proves that the authorities will be firmly facing any deviation or laxity. «The shops that will violate instructions will be closed down» the Minister of Supply and Home Trade said.

These campaigns will continue to detect shops and bakeries. «The movements of the campaign will be kept secret so as to surprise violators», an official at the Minister of Supply and Home Trade said.

Hawkers who used to crowd in queues in front of co-op shops to buy chickens at subsidised prices and resell it to the people at high prices, will be captured also. — GSS.

CSO: 4500/29

POSSESSION OF AUTOMATIC WEAPONS SUBJECT TO DRASTIC NEW RESTRICTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 31 Oct 82 p 8

/Article by Ahmad Husayn" "An Amendment to the Weapons and Ammunition Law: Hard Labor for Life for People Possessing Automatic Weapons"/

/Text/ The Ministry of the Interior has prepared a draft amendment to the weapons and ammunition law issued in 1954. The new law prohibits the ownership of automatic rifles, pistols, machine guns, silencers and telescopes mounted on firearms. Anyone violating this stipulation will be punished by hard labor for life. In addition, anyone owning firearms or pistols without permit from the Interior Ministry will be punished by hard labor for a specific period of time, or by imprisonment and a fine of 500 pounds if the weapon is a firearm with a rifled barrel.

The new amendment also prohibits all persons under 21 years of age, all persons who have been given a criminal sentence or imprisoned for a period of at least 1 year for a crime of aggression against a person, property or honor, all persons against whom more than one prison sentence has been issued for any of these crimes, and also all persons who have been convicted of crimes of theft or crimes infringing on the security of the state domestically or abroad, or who do not possess the necessary requirements for dealing with weapons, from bearing arms.

The new law regulates the procedures for acquiring 3-year permits to own weapons. The weapons may not be consigned to other people.

The vice presidents, their assistants, the prime minister, the ministers, their deputies, current and former governors, members of Egyptian and foreign diplomatic missions, members of the People's and Consultative Assemblies, employees of the government, general authorities, and public sector companies who are involved with republican decrees or are at the rank of director general or officer and work in intelligence, and village and tribal chiefs will be exempt from obtaining such permits, on condition that the police be notified.

It is not permitted to carry weapons at conferences, meetings, weddings or other places to be specified by a decree issued by the minister of interior.

11887

CSO: 4504/60

AGREEMENT REACHED WITH SUDAN ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 31 Oct 82 p 3

[Text]

THE Egyptian and Sudanese governments have agreed on the broadlines of a plan to improve telecommunications and transportation between the two countries as provided for in the Charter of Integration. The number of telephone circuits connecting Egypt and the Sudan went up from 3 to 19 last month the Minister said. He added that the Egyptian government has approved a proposal to provide the Sudan with the technical personnel required to support the staffing telecommunication stations in the Sudan and to meet the Sudan's need for wire cables and telephone sets and equipment.

It has also been decided to maintain the current flow of navigation in the part of the Nile between Halfa and Ukasha but that light beacons be installed to guarantee the safety of the passage throughout the year. Meanwhile the Egyptian and Sudanese maritime authorities will launch a joint study to identify how the Agreement on Maritime Co-operation could best be enforced and to operate a regular route connecting Egypt and the Sudan. — GSS

In a statement to the press following the meeting Minister Metwalli said that agreement had been reached to consider ways and means of boosting telephone circuits along the River Nile particularly in the area extending between Wadi Halfa and the Khartoum Satellite ground station. until works are completed to construct a new port facility there the Minister said.

CSO: 4500/28

SYMPOSIUM STUDIES OIL CONSUMPTION IN TRANSPORT SECTOR

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 7 Nov 82 p 2

[Text]

DEPUTY Prime Minister and Minister of Petroleum, Ahmed Ezzeddin Hilal, today opens the symposium on rationalisation of energy consumption in transport. The two-day symposium will probe 27 research studies on energy consumption in transport both inside and between towns.

The transport sector consumes about 32 percent of total production of petroleum products, and inland transport, cars, lorries and buses, represent from 85 per cent to 90 per cent of all the energy consumed by the transport sector.

As for railway and air transport, the energy consumed in these two sectors constitutes the remaining 10—15 per cent, according to Mr Mohsen Mohamed el Qasabgui, director of research operations and assistant energy expert at the General Petroleum Corporation, in his study on the structural changes required for rationalising consumption in the transport

sector.

Mr Qasabgui added that the transport sector depends entirely on petroleum, consuming 30 to 40 per cent of the total local consumption of petroleum products.

According to Mr Salah Mohamed Taha, of the Nile Company for transportation, both public and private sectors share the responsibility of transporting goods throughout the country. Vehicles on the road amounted to 113,335 during December, 1980 against 90,833 vehicles in 1979, an increase of 25 per cent.

Mr Taha Shahin, Deputy Chairman of transport projects, says in his research study on the transportation fleet and its relationship with energy consumption that the sector consumes about 23.4 per cent of the total energy consumption in Egypt, and that 96 per cent of this proportion is consumed by inland transportation of goods and passengers.

Mr Shahin added that the total

number of the licensed cars topped one million in June 1982, an increase of three times over the figure for 1975 or an 18 per cent annual average.

Mr Shahin says that energy in Egypt is cheap due to the direct and indirect support of the State, represented in price differentials between selling costs to local consumers and Egyptian petroleum prices on the world market. The transportation sector consumes 3,300,000 tons of petroleum products.

Dr Abdul Qader Lashin says that goods transportation in 1979 had consumed about 2,292,696 tons of petroleum products representing about 96.42 of for lorries, 1.94 of for river transportation and 1.64 of for the railways.

The symposium will study these reports and other research studies and seek solutions for the high energy consumption rates with the aim of rationalising consumption in this important sector. — GSS.

BRIEFS

MOSQUE BOARDS--The General Department of Mosques in the Ministry of Religious Endowments has received reports from the religious endowments departments in Cairo and the governorates stating that the formation of boards of directors for all mosques in Egypt, both government and private, has been completed. In al-Daqahliyah, boards of directors have been formed for 422 government mosques and 614 private ones. Boards of directors have been formed for 1,000 mosques in Kafr al-Shaykh, 3,428 in al-Sharqiyah, 18,287 in al-Minya, and 4,265 in Asyut; in Bani Suwayf there are 202 boards for endowment mosques and 385 for private ones. The departments of religious endowments are continuing to inform the General Department of Mosques of the final compositions of the mosque boards. An important meeting of members of the boards of these mosques is to be held under the chairmanship of the minister of religious endowments. The Ministry of Religious Endowments has issued instructions to men engaged in Islamic proselytization to carry out indoctrination programs among the masses, prepare general symposia in the mosques in areas where there are masses of young people, and expand specific caravans to remote areas in the governorates, with the goal of bringing services of the Islamic appeal to these areas. /Text/ /Cairo AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI in Arabic 21 Oct 82 p 16/ 11887

CSO: 4504/60

GOVERNMENT BODIES PRAISED FOR GOOD PERFORMANCE

Pilgrim Flights by Iran Air

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Nov 82 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Nov 1 (IRNA) -

The officials of Iranian airline (Iran Air), and the Civil Aviation Organization of Iran have commended Iran Air's performance in transporting Iranian and Nigerian pilgrims to and from Mecca.

In a press interview here today they said the airline had excelled its performance in the past years both in number of passengers and in the quality of passenger services.

The superintendent of Iran's Hajj services (pilgrims' services) Azim Akhbari noted that in Saudi Arabia, airport officials had deliberately encumbered the Iranian pilgrims with a lot of unwarranted red tape and had also needlessly hindered conventional flight service to the airline.

He said the Saudi officials had also overburdened the Iranian pilgrims and especially the Iranian travellers on government assignment, with unusual customs formalities. He said the

Saudi officials had even created obstacles for the airline to carry private as well as government mail from Saudi Arabia to Iran.

This year a total of 86,004 passengers were transported from airports in Tehran, Tabriz, Mashad, and Shiraz to Jiddah in Saudi Arabia, and a total of 85,842 passengers returned to destinations in Iran aboard the airline.

In 1977 (before the Islamic Revolution) a total of 25,648 passengers flew to Jiddah by Iran Air from destinations in Iran and 25,601 passengers returned to Tehran.

This year Iran Air also transported 43,000 passengers from Nigeria to Jiddah during the Hajj season.

The managing director of Iran Air, Mohammad Sepehri, referred to the airline's service for the Nigerian government as culturally significant and monetarily profitable.

Ministry Builds More Roads

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Nov 82 p 6

[Text]

TEHRAN, Nov. 1 (IRNA) — In an interview with the weekly magazine "Soroush," Roads and Transportation Minister Mohammad Nejadhusseinian outlined the activities of the ministry after the Islamic Revolution and its future projects.

In the interview which was published in the last two issues of the magazine, he said that during the three years after the revolution, the ministry had switched its attention to the more deprived regions, for example in Kohkiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province there were only some 100 kms of asphalt roads. However, he added, although the ministry's progress in these regions was gradual, it had already completed projects 20 times more compared to all the years prior to the revolution.

One problem in the way of road construction work in the deprived regions was that the executive groups and their engineers were not willing to spend their time in those places, rather they were more interested in other regions where they could be more comfortable, he said.

The minister gave the following figures indicating the activities of the Roads and Transportation Ministry in road construction after the Islamic Revolution.

From March 21, 1979 through March 20, 1981, more than 460 kms of freeways were under construction 220 kms of which were completed. The ministry can build 70 to 80 kms of freeways annually.

During the same period, more than 5,700 kms of main roads were under construction, 1,830 of which were completed.

During the same period, some 20,000 kms of rural roads were under construction, about 10,000 of which were completed.

During the same period, some 12,000 hy-roads were under construction, 3,400 kms of which were completed.

All of the above figures, he added, were much higher than the activities during the last three years of the shah's regime.

Nejadhusseinian said that the government was not considering employing foreign contractors for its roads construction requirements. This, he said, was primarily because there were still groups of Iranians who were currently unemployed in this field. Therefore, he added, plans would center on activating Iranians who are capable of doing road construction work and then if there were still some work left to be done foreign contractors could be employed.

Martyr Raja'i Port Under Construction

Concerning the ministry's machinery and equipment, he said talks were currently continuing with the Japanese government to acquire the needed technology in order to build machinery in Iran. He said the talks were part of a ten-year plan to build, not assemble, road construction machinery in the country with the cooperation of the Heavy Industries Ministry within the next ten years. For now however he said, a group, known as the Self-Sufficiency Jihad, had been established in the ministry to coordinate production of needed spare parts. So far some 300 parts had been reproduced by the committed workers, he said.

Speaking about the country's present and future port facilities, Nejadhusseinian said that during the next few years the total number of piers in the country would reach 71.

One of the most important projects in this field, he added, was the Martyr Raja'i port in Bandar-Abbas, Southern Iran in Hormoz-

gan Province. He said that the port will have an annual capacity of 16 million tons with 15 piers, 12 of which are now temporarily in operation. The port is being built with an estimated cost of 57 billion rials (about 650 million dollars), and he said that the construction was coming along very good. He said that 50 percent of the project had so far been completed.

Bandar Abbas - Bafq Railroad, Top Ministry's Priorities

Concerning other port construction plans, the minister said that plans for 14 small ports were prepared and three of them had been given to foreign contractors, who are due to begin construction work soon. Two other ports will be built by Iranian contractors.

On railroad activities, Nejadhusseinian said that the railroad from Bandar-Abbas to Bafq (in Yazd Province) was at the top of the ministry's priority list. It will be a vital source of transportation, linking South-Central Iran to the north, through Yazd, Kerman, Isfahan and Tehran. The railroad has been divided into 15 sections, nine of which are currently under construction. Three of the remaining six sections are to be constructed by the Railroad Company temporarily and the other three are undergoing route changes. He said that the changes were necessary since it would require a seven kms tunnel which was difficult to build and manage.

In the air transportation field, the minister said that although much effort was being done to service the aircraft by Iranians, but, he said, foreigners in Iran in the past had not properly transferred their technical know-how to them. Therefore he said there were many problems in this respect but expressed hope that some of them could be eliminated in the future when the Aeronautics Scientific and Technical School opens this year.

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Nov 82 p 2

[Text]

ARAK, Nov 2 (IRNA) — A member of the Iraqi Combatant Ulama Society, Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Mohammad Baqer Hakim arrived here Monday morning to inspect the Iraqi PoWs' camp No. 7 of Tariq ul-Qods.

During the inspection, one of the PoWs condemned the crimes of Saddam and said that they were all sorry for their past deeds and had repented. He also announced the readiness of Iraqi PoWs for being dispatched to the battlefields to fight against Saddam's mercenaries, to donate blood to the wounded or to cooperate with the Construction Jihad.

Then Hojjatoleslam Hakim talked about the Islamic Revolution and its superiority to other revolutions. He said that the Islamic Revolution did not rely on a specific group and would cover the entire world.

Referring to the endeavors of some of the reactionary Arab leaders to separate religion from politics, such as Jordan's Shah Hossein, and Egypt's Hosni Mubarak, he said that they were even against shouting slogans against the United States and the Zionist regime.

100,000 Iraqi Mujahideen Imprisoned

Hojjatoleslam Hakim, meanwhile, said that about 100,000

Iraqi Muslim Mujahideen are now prisoners in Iraq, and that ever since the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran (February 11, 1979) at least 5,000 people of Iraq had been killed by Saddam Hussein's men.

Seyyed Mohammad Baqer Hakim reminded the Iraqi PoWs that their readiness to fight against the Iraqi forces alongside the Iranian troops, was sufficient evidence of the reluctance of the Iraqi people to fight against the Islamic forces, and that the gesture proved that the Iraqi troops were fighting under sheer coercion.

Asked about his opinion about Iran's conditions for a cease-fire with the Baghdad regime he said that Iran's terms for ending the war were in keeping with the Islamic dictates and corresponded with the international norms and were also in the best interest of the people of Iran and Iraq.

He said Saddam Hussein was personally responsible for gross damage inflicted upon the people of Iran and Iraq.

He also praised the behavior of the Iranian officials with the Iraqi PoWs and said that based upon his own findings the Iraqi PoWs enjoyed by far better facilities in their camps than did the Iranian soldiers.

Islamic Forces' Lightning Attacks

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Nov 82 p 6

[Text]

KARBALA HQ. Nov. 5 (IRNA) — "The Islamic forces pounced upon us faster than lightning and quicker than thunder in such a way that the military array of a reinforced division was completely disturbed," this was said by a captive Iraqi commander belonging to one of the battalions of the 606th Infantry Brigade of the 10th army, who requested not to be named in an attempt to avert repercussions on his family in Iraq.

This colonel further added, the Iraqi commanders have realized that confronting the Islamic forces was but a suicidal attempt.

Although the Iraqi soldiers were equipped with modern and complicated weaponry supplied by the east and west, in no way were they able to counter or create obstacles in the way of the Islamic forces to obstruct their advancement. He further said that the Iraqi regime was carrying out the satanic plans of the imperialists and it was to this end, he

added, that Saddam had imposed the war on the Iranian Muslim nation and on the oppressed nation of Iraq.

He continued, that today in Iraq one cannot find a family that has not lost a member in the war. This has made Iraq a mourning abode. The Islamic Revolution of Iran has really affected the people of Iraq. Islam sooner or later will emerge victorious.

According to our war intelligence we believed that we would be attacked during the first 10 days of Moharram and we were fully on the alert, said the Iraqi captive commander, adding "the day we were attacked there was a heavy thunder storm and the alert order was relaxed and it was then that the Islamic forces started their offensive operation of which we did not even dream."

The Iraqi PoW concluded the battalion which was under his command was completely crushed and most of the soldiers were either killed or taken prisoner

Evin Prison Becoming University

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Nov 82 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Nov. 5 (IRNA) — An ex-member of the counter-revolutionary Munafiqeen (MKO) Sohrab Rashidi told foreign reporters visiting Tehran's Evin prison yesterday, that Evin was a university rather than a jail and that it was a place where the prisoners were enlightened.

Rashidi who has repented of his past deeds, condemned the MKO for its sabotage activities and assassinations of innocent people.

A group of foreign and Iranian journalists toured Evin prison yesterday afternoon and talked to a number of inmates.

Inmates who had gathered at Evin's mosque, welcomed reporters by chanting, "Death to America," "Death to Israel," "Death to France", and "Death to Masoud Rajavi (fugitive MKO leader) and Abolhassan Bani-sadr."

Islamic Revolutionary Courts Prosecutor, Assadollah Lajvardi, told reporters that since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, some 2,000 culprits including terrorists, agents of the

former regime and those involved in Kurdistan troubles, have been executed.

Under teachings of the Qur'an, anyone who committed murder, must be executed. The same procedure is applied with those who rebelled against the Islamic Republic using arms, threatened people with death and spread corruption in society, Lajvardi said.

When asked about the execution of Sadeq Qotbzadeh, former foreign minister, Lajvardi said that he (Qotbzadeh) wanted to bomb Jamaran (residence of Imam Khomeini) and the Friday mass prayers congregations. Therefore, Qotbzadeh was planning an armed action against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Islamic Revolutionary Courts Prosecutor, commenting on torture allegations spread by the enemies of the Islamic Revolution, said that Islamic laws did not allow torture and the reporters could verify absence of use of torture by asking the inmates.

However, he added, punishment of certain crimes such as adultery and drinking alcoholic

beverages, has been defined by the Islamic laws.

The intention was to guide and enlighten the prisoners during their imprisonment and then set them free, Lajvardi told the reporters.

For this objective a great sum of money was being used because it was well understood the best treatment for those who have risen against the Islamic Republic, was providing them with guidance.

Lajvardi then cited an example of a military pilot who had taken part in a foiled coup d'etat attempt against the Islamic Republic. The pilot was sentenced to death but at the last moment it was found out that he had repented and thus his life was spared. After being freed, Lajvardi continued the pilot had several successful flights in the course of the Iraqi imposed war and was martyred in one of these flights.

As for the terrorist group, 'Forqan', members of which were involved in assassination of a number of officials, Lajvardi said that most members of the group were now fighting against the Iraqi forces in the warfronts.

Army Operating Without Foreign Technicians

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Nov 82 p 2

[Editorial by S. Moadab]

[Excerpt] In Iran, which is engaged in a war, the leading daily news has been related to this conflict for more than two years. For the non-Iranian Muslims who consider the Islamic Revolution in Iran as theirs, when they meet an Iranian aside from the anxiety they express for the continuation of fratricide between two Muslim states, and apart from the questions they ask about Imam's health they immediately ask what are the achievements in other areas of the Islamic Revolution. The idea of other areas may have different meanings but generally when we are questioned it is understood to be construction of what the previous regime had destroyed. In fact, even though it may not have been publicized adequately, articles have been written to show what we have achieved in housing, agriculture and public welfare. Once Imam Khomeini said, "We must learn the art of publicity from the hen. To lay an egg a hen makes so much noise that everyone around it knows that an egg is being laid." It is true that we have not been hen-like in telling the world, and especially the world of Islam, about the tremendous achievements of the Islamic Republic.

A very simple example of what we have achieved is the comparison of our army with that of the previous one. As all our readers know, prior to the shah's fall forty thousand U.S. military advisors were running the imperial army and our air force in particular was not operational without the direct participation of U.S. officers. At that time we were not in a war at all. Any damage done to one of our planes or helicopters was repaired by the American technicians or at least under their direct supervision.

Today we are at war and we are confronting one of the best equipped armies in the Middle East. Regarding the air force of our enemy, it has been continuously renewed since the outset of the hostilities. But the air force of the Islamic Republic has adopted completely to the original slogan of the revolution which is, independence in all fields. Today our brave and skillful pilots fly over enemy territory any time they wish. All damages sustained are repaired by our technicians in the army. Not a single foreign advisor is present in the army. When very recently we repaired an F-5 Phantom jet and put it into operation almost no one abroad believed it. We made a documentary film to show what we had achieved in the air force and presented it to Eurovision in order that it be broadcast to the world but it was refused because of the positive publicity it would create for us.

There are hundreds of cases like this in industry. Only those involved in this field can understand what it means to restart thousands of factories without any help from others. Those who are accustomed to irresponsible comparison and ordinarily do not take the geopolitical situation of Iran into account in their analysis can hardly think of what we have achieved.

CSO: 4600/95

BRIEFS

PILOT SEEKING ASYLUM--Geneva, Reuter--Iran's national airline, Iran Air, is plagued by inefficiency, lack of equipment and the loss of experienced personnel, said a former senior pilot with the company. Capt. Freydoun Aryan, 37, who announced at the weekend that he is seeking political asylum in Switzerland, told a news conference he estimated that only about 12 of Iran Air's 31 aircraft were being used. Out of a total skilled staff of 270 pilots and technicians two years ago, 50 had left the country, many because of political pressures, he added. Mr Aryan, who helped found an Iranian pilots' trade union, said: "The government is bringing in young outsiders with no experience of aviation or management." The government was now having to subsidise the airline to keep its 11,000 employees in work, he said. Mr Aryan, who flew for Iran Air for 17 years, abandoned his Boeing 707 in Amsterdam last month and made his way to Switzerland. He says he has been given preliminary permission to stay while his request for asylum is considered. [Text] [Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 26 Dec 82 p 1]

MORE GAS FROM ESFAHAN REFINERY--Isfahan, Nov 1 (IRNA)--When taps to the natural gas pipeline connected to Isfahan Refinery are turned on next month, 300 tons of liquified petroleum gas (LPG) will be saved per day. This venture will also meet 30 percent of the country's LPG needs, said National Iranian Gas Company official, Engineer Asfhar Soheilipour today. Some 300 million rials (about 3 million dollars) has been allocated for the completion of the project, he added. Another project with a capital of 400 million rials (about 4.5 million dollars) would provide inhabitants of Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari Province with natural gas by the end of the current Iranian year ending on March 20, 1983. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Nov 82 p 2]

MORE COPPER FROM KERMAN--Kerman, Nov 2 (IRNA)--Specialists and employees committed to the Revolution have produced more than 3,500 tons of copper bars in the huge copper complex in Kerman. Engineer Mehdi Hassanpour, the director of the factory, in an interview with IRNA said that at present the daily production of the complex is 20 tons of blister copper with round-the-clock efforts of all employees to bring about an increase in production. He also said that the factory's plans call for a production increase of 120-450 tons per day and hopefully this will be achieved soon, he added. The manager of the factory further said that presently only 45 percent of the refinery has been completed and along with the cathode unit of this complex the factory's full capacity is expected to reach 45,000 tons. He also added that the factory urgently needs and uses 2,000 tons of steel balls annually for its Arak machine tools and has contracted with an Italian firm for construction of a factory which will produce annually 40,000 tons of steel balls, further saying that some would be exported. It should be mentioned that after the victory of the Islamic Revolution the company was shut down. It was formerly operated by U.S. personnel. In spite of economic sanctions and the imposed war, three days after the liberation of Khorramshahr (May 24, 1982) this complex was put into operation by Iranian specialists to the chagrin of oppressors. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Nov 82 p 2]

CSO: 4600/95

'EZER WEIZMAN'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 1 Oct 82 p 24

[Article by Avi Bettelheim: "'Ezer Cancelled His Trip Abroad and Tried To Join 'Substitute Government;' Liberal Party Previously Offered Chairmanship to Weizman, But Was Turned Down; In Talk With Friends, Weizman Said If He Joins Labor Government He Will Use Time Until Elections To Establish Central Party"]

[Text] About a month ago Deputy Minister of Transport David Schiffman met with 'Ezer Weizman and suggested that he weigh the possibility of joining the Liberal Party in order to lead it in the future. This way, Schiffman said, Weizman would be able to return to the political arena through the Likud.

There were rumors at the time that several members of the party were renewing their initiative to do away with the presidency of the party and remove Yitzhak Moday. Schiffman, a friend of Moday and a member of his faction (which also includes Knesset Members Pesah Gruper and Pinhas Goldstein), passed on the idea to Weizman that Moday's group, as well as some other Knesset members, might support him and he could replace Simha Ehrlich as chairman of the party. In this way, some in the Liberal Party thought, Weizman would stay "at home" and in time become deputy prime minister.

After listening to Schiffman, Weizman said that he did not intend to return to the political arena through the back door. The two agreed to keep in touch.

Schiffman's reaction to this matter is not known. Goldstein preferred not to talk about it, while Minister Moday said: "Knesset Member Schiffman is a member of my group, but not the spokesman. As far as I know he did not offer the leadership of the party to Weizman. I was out of the country when they met. From what I was told, Schiffman spoke to 'Ezer about the need to return to the Likud and, if necessary, through the Liberal Party. But as far as I know nothing came of it."

Weizman keeps quiet and refuses to react to this meeting.

Last March, while recuperating in the hospital, Weizman was surprised by a cable from Begin wishing him speedy recovery. 'Ezer, who is quick to respond (sometimes too quick), did not hide his excitement and phoned the prime minister. They had a short talk ending with Begin saying to Weizman, "We should meet."

Berman Explains: I Did Not Propose Weizman As Minister of Defense

Mounds of political speculations have been piled around the words "We should meet." But in the end, the two did not meet. The relationship was not renewed and the old enmity remained.

Shortly afterwards, Deputy Prime Minister David Levi took the initiative and asked for Weizman to be brought back to the party. The initiative did not cause waves of enthusiasm. When asked recently what has happened to his call, and whether he intended to renew his initiative, Levi responded something like, The old man does not want him.

This week in the government session when Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman presented his resignation he wanted to clarify that it was not true he had suggested that Ariel Sharon be fired and that Weizman be put in his place as defense minister. "I don't work on government appointments," Berman said. "It wouldn't have worked," Begin blurted.

In spite of all this, there seems to be a great deal of activity in recent weeks at Weizman's home in Caesaria. From talks with Weizman, several political leaders believe that if he is offered the job of defense minister--which he seriously doubts--he will not reject it outright nor accept it without some conditions.

Weizman has his own ideas about the recent political developments in the region and the military moves needed in Lebanon. He will present them to whoever makes the offer, if the offer is made, to include him in the Likud government as defense minister.

Willingness in Principle to "Come Home"

His willingness in principle to "come home" is a change from Weizman's previous position. Until a few months ago he used to tell his friends: "I prefer to sit here on the veranda and watch this incomparable view than go back to the government."

Weizman does not hide his criticism of the government. He asks people he meets for information about political and military activities and tests his own ideas on them.

Herut Party activists, including heads of local branches from different parts of the country, have been visiting him lately.

Knesset Member Me'ir Shitrit is one of the few people in the party who openly tries to persuade friends (including the prime minister) about the importance of Weizman's return to political life as part of the party.

On the eve of Rosh Hashana, 'Ezer met with Labor Chairman Shimon Peres. During their talk--one of many the two have conducted over lunch--they weighed, among other things, the various theoretical possibilities of establishing a substitute government headed by Labor.

Some in the Labor Party have come up with the following plan: The Alignment (50) plus Shinui (2) plus Tami (3) plus Yitzhak Berman plus Dror Zeigerman, will form a minority government of 57 members that will be able to last because of the outside support of HADASH (4). This government will be joined later by the NRP and thus a coalition of 62-63 members (with or without Hayim Druckman) will be able to stay in power until November 1983. Such a government will have Peres as prime minister, Weizman as defense minister and Rabin as foreign minister.

"If He Joins a Labor-Headed Government"

In talks with friends, Weizman has said that if he joins a government headed by Labor he will use the interim to form a central party. In talks with resigning Minister Berman and Knesset Member Dror Zeigerman, Weizman said he was willing to form a liberal center and even spoke in principle about a platform and about putting out a brochure explaining the ideology.

Berman and Zeigerman, by the way, explained to Weizman during their talks that at this time they do not see themselves as active partners in establishing a substitute government. "We will not bring down the government," said Zeigerman. "I did not vote against the government in the inquiry commission issue in order to jump on another band wagon," said Berman. The two added that if Tami left the government or if Begin went to the president to present his resignation they might reconsider.

Among the political leaders Weizman has spoken to are Aharon Abuhatzira (almost every day), Avraham Shapira, Yitzhak Berman, Dror Zeigerman, Zalman Abramov, Gideon Patt, Yitzhak Moday, Shimon Peres, Zevulun Hammer, Yehuda Ben-Meir, Miha Reiser, Meir Shitrit and Peleg Tamir.

His talk with Commerce and Industry Minister Gideon Patt has aroused many reactions. Weizman told the minister that if six Liberal Knesset members left the coalition and the Likud, it would be possible to establish an alternative government.

Patt said in reaction to his talk with Weizman: "I do not conduct political negotiations and I don't change horses in mid-stream. There is nothing to change for. I am a member of the Likud and not a tenant. I don't suddenly leave. Why should I?"

Weizman could be encouraged by one of his talks with a NRP member. In this talk, the latter expressed displeasure with the government and strongly criticized Ariel Sharon. He gave his blessing to the Weizman initiative to come back to political life and promised to keep in touch and get back together with him soon.

Now that the board of inquiry has been established, the political system will calm down for a while and so will Weizman's political activity. The conclusions of the committee may have far-reaching implications for 'Ezer Weizman's political future.

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OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS OF BORDER PROTECTION ANALYZED

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[Article by Amiram Nir, Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel]

[Text]

Abstract

This article presents Israel's operational concepts of border protection. It discusses measures for employing the technical accessories called for by those concepts, but does not enter into technical specifications of the accessories.

1 TWO DIFFERENT KINDS OF THREATS

Border protection in Israel must address two essentially dissimilar problems which often require diverse equipment and reliance on a variety of operational measures. The first problem is the need to prepare for total war launched against Israel by her neighbours. The second involves the defense against limited military aggression launched for the most part by terrorist organizations, although occasionally by standing armies also.

The border protection element in Israeli planning for total war is intended primarily to hinder the enemy in his initial efforts to capture either extended territory or vital installations which the IDF might need later on, when it counter-attacks. It functions by deploying small forces as effectively as possible in blocking operations until the main body of the IDF — the reserves — can be called up and the war carried into enemy territory.

Naturally, this type of border protection must rely on terrain as a defensive element of the first order, capable of compensating for quantitative force inferiority in the initial stage of a war. The relatively few regular forces assigned to the blocking operation are not dug in rigidly; rather, they are deployed near the borders in constant readiness while they maintain their full slate of training exercises.

In this context, use of terrain must serve three objectives: warning of enemy forces approaching the border, delaying the enemy in the border zone to allow defensive reinforcements to reach the battle line, and destruction of the enemy in killing grounds prepared in advance for this purpose.

Border protection deployment for total war is determined by the enemy's estimated timetable for massive force movement and by the nature and equipment of his forces. An attacking army can be identified relatively early, its movement is vulnerable to most of the classic battlefield obstacles, and it requires considerable time to negotiate those obstacles under fire. On the other hand, the enemy's ability to cover his movements from the start with massive firepower forces the defenders to fortify their ground emplacements; this is a central consideration in planning the nature of defensive deployment.

In contrast, border protection against limited military activity reflects a different set of constraints. The penetrating forces are generally very small, their entry is carried out under concealment, they are extremely mobile, and they have little or no difficulty negotiating the classic obstacles. By the same token, however, large defensive forces are not required in order to overcome this type of invader, nor need they rely on fortified emplacements.

To sum up, then, in border protection against total attack the emphasis should be placed on extended delaying capabilities and effective destruction of the enemy in a fire-saturated battlefield. In contrast, defense against limited aggressive actions (by terrorist organizations and small military units) should focus on achieving the most immediate and effective early warning of the actual infiltration, and the most rapid capability of pinpointing and intercepting the infiltrator once his entry has been discovered.

These principles are generally applicable to both land and sea borders. They are also valid to some extent with regard to the defense of aerial borders.

2. ISRAEL'S BORDERS — TERRAIN AND THE ENEMY

Israel's northern border, with Lebanon, is 101 km. long and traverses difficult mountain terrain which limits motorized movement to main axes. In winter the ground becomes muddy, thus impeding movement by foot. A large number of civilian settlements are located near the border and along its entire length; their inhabitants are mainly farmers.

Lebanon has never presented a military threat to Israel's existence. Even before the effective collapse of the sovereign government in Beirut, the Lebanese army was small and poorly equipped, and its deployment along the Israeli border was little more than symbolic. The terrain seriously impedes development of a land attack, and the population density on the Lebanese side of the border exposes Lebanon to painful Israeli reprisal.

However, the very factors which reduce the threat of total war from Lebanon increase the danger of limited warfare in this sector. The same terrain which impedes the deployment of regular army forces facilitates evasion tactics on the part of small and flexible terrorist teams. The Lebanese civilian population, which would constitute a "legitimate" objective for the IDF were the Lebanese army to initiate war, offers a convenient cover and umbrella for terrorist operations by outside elements. The proximity of the Israeli civilian population adds to the temptation for terrorists, since the population itself is the objective; thus hit-and-run and even across-the-border shooting attacks are afforded.

Since the Lebanese Civil War in the mid 70s, there is no central authority in Beirut capable of enforcing sovereign authority in the southern part of the country and preventing the terrorist organizations from operating there against Israel. Lebanon remains the only Arab country from whose territory terrorist attacks against Israel are readily carried out. Thus the Arab terrorist organizations' main activities are centered there. Since 1975 there have been approximately 450 armed incidents at the Israel-Lebanon border — compared with 12 at the Israel-Syria border, 27 at the border with Jordan, and 2 at the Egyptian border.

These incidents were quite varied in nature: infiltration attacks aimed at using hostages to force Israeli concessions or for out-and-out mass murder; landmining or boobytrapping; long distance shooting attacks on civilian settlements or IDF patrols and bases, etc.

Since the March 1978 Litani Operation the terrorist organizations have been withdrawn from the Israeli border. Presently they are separated from the border by a strip controlled by Lebanese Christian militias commanded by Major Haddad. Still, Lebanon remains the major departure base for terrorist operations against Israel, by land, sea and air.

Israel's northeast border, with Syria on the Golan Heights, is 79 km. long and differs from the Israel-Lebanon border in several aspects. The terrain is a rocky, level plateau with several high hills in the central sector. Large scale military force movement is decidedly feasible.

This border has been quiet since the Yom Kippur War. Damascus does not permit the Palestinian terrorist organizations to use her territory for actions against Israel. Moreover, limited Syrian army activity against IDF emplacements and civilian settlements on the Golan — which took place in the late '60s and early '70s and resulted in massive Israeli retaliation — has ceased entirely. The principle threat in this sector is that of an all-out Syrian offensive. This would be based on the Syrian standing army, about half of whose six divisions are deployed permanently near the border in formations which allow them to move into an offensive configuration almost without prior preparations.

Israel's eastern border, with Jordan, is its longest — 412 km. In its northern half it is a natural boundary: the Jordan River and Dead Sea, lying along the length of the Syrian-African Rift and flanked by mountain ranges. The border's southern half lies along the Arava Valley, another feature of the Rift, where trafficability by mobile military units is often limited.

In the late '60s the Jordan border was the principal infiltration zone into Israel for the Palestinian terrorist organizations. However, since the bloody "Black September" confrontation in Jordan in 1970 between King Husayn's loyal army and the Palestinians, terrorist activity from the Hashemite Kingdom has been sharply reduced.

Jordan's four regular army divisions are deployed largely on the mountain heights overlooking the Rift and further back inside the country. Only small infantry units are dug in along the Jordan Valley itself, in emplacements overlooking the river and at strategic locations blocking the ascent to the mountain heights. In the event of all out war, several Iraqi divisions can be expected to join the fighting along the Jordanian front; in this way the offensive orbit in this sector could be doubled, reaching eight divisions at least. As on the Golan Heights, so in the Jordan Valley and the Arava there are Israeli settlements located near the border. However, in number, proximity to one another and proximity to the confrontation line itself, these do not approach the Lebanese border situation.

In the Jordanian sector — even without considering the problems posed by defending forces — an aggressor must traverse a considerable distance in which he is observable to the Israeli side, then cross a significant water obstacle and negotiate difficult mountainous terrain.

Finally, the southwest border with Egypt is 210 km. long after the withdrawal from Sinai. Here the terrain is primarily desert, and with certain limitations trafficable by AFVs. The nearest Egyptian division, according to peace treaty provisions, is deployed some 200 km. west of the border, and the remainder of Egypt's forces are located west of the Suez Canal.

Taken together, the developing peaceful relations between Israel and Egypt and the nature of the Sinai security arrangements reduce the probability of all out war along this front. The infiltration potential of terrorist units traversing the entire Sinai peninsula is also sharply limited — as the Sinai is controlled by the Egyptian army together with a recently-established international peace keeping force.

If the danger of war in this sector does increase, it is not inconceivable that Israel will seek to pursue the encounter inside the territory of Sinai rather than along the old-new border. This option has extensive ramifications for border protection considerations along the Egyptian-Israeli frontier.

This short description would not be complete without some reference to the aerial border problem, and to the 272 km. long sea border. The latter has lent itself in the past to terrorist action originating in Lebanese ports. In general the sea is calm enough for battle formations, and the sea approach to Israel constitutes a tempting offensive channel for the Syrian, Egyptian and even Libyan standing navies. Israel's primary populations, infrastructure and economic concentrations are spread out along her Mediterranean coast, and these navies possess a variety of vessels fully capable of reaching and striking that coast. Beyond Israel's coastal vulnerability there is the extremely important problem of protecting her navigation rights on the open seas. This, however, is not included within the context of border protection as we have defined it.

Aerial border protection is of particular significance in view of Israel's geographic formation and geo-strategic location: the country's long, narrow shape *vis-à-vis* its neighbours invites attack by enemy planes against vital objectives, with penetration time being measured in minutes or even less. Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, too, possess the most modern aircraft and are capable of presenting a genuine threat of hit-and-run attack of this nature.

3. BORDER PROTECTION MEASURES — TOTAL WAR

3.1 Early Warning

The primary early warning capability for total war is based on intelligence systems at general staff level. At the tactical level, however, local early warning is of importance both as a supplement to strategic alert regarding enemy intentions and preparations and, principally, as an indicator of tactical intentions — at the outbreak of fighting and during the battle — regarding the location, method and strength of the attack.

For this purpose long distance observation posts are located along the border. These are equipped with day and night observation devices (including long distance television cameras) to warn of enemy activity on the tactical and operative levels. Observation posts of a different nature, for closer range, are located at forward emplacements on the border itself. These posts have different objectives (see below).

3.2 Delaying Action

As noted above, the first stage of border protection involves a process of delaying the enemy advance in order to enable the call-up of reserves and the arrival of reinforcements. For this stage to succeed it is essential to exploit the terrain's full potential as a substitute for forces.

Exploitation of terrain involves intelligent use of natural obstacles such as water channels (the Jordan River on the east), cliffs and rocky ground (as on the Golan Heights) and non trafficable desert dunes (along the border with Egypt). These obstacles are improved upon as needed in order to further hinder passage through them, and a supplementary network of artificial obstacles is deployed around them.

One of the principal artificial obstacles is the minefield. Israel has laid various types of minefields along her borders. These are made up of anti-vehicle mines, anti personnel mines and combinations of the two. Each field's depth is determined by the nature of the terrain and the threat involved in that particular sector. The field is planned so that it cannot be breached by conventional means in a short interval.

Another type of obstacle is the antitank ditch. These are dug across potential penetration zones, and are sufficiently wide and deep so as to require the use of designated bridging equipment. This further delays the attacking force and restricts its movement. Moreover, high dirt embankments are usually erected alongside the ditches in order to involve the aggressor in yet additional field engineering efforts. Large-scale use of various types of barbed wire in differing configurations also complicates the enemy's infantry movements as he is forced to spend time and effort in breaching maneuvers.

The combined use of these means and measures creates a complex artificial obstacle which, when possible, incorporates natural obstacles too. It affords the defending force both the time it requires to organize its defense and the capability to exploit the attacker's delay in the obstructed area in order to effectively destroy him in pre-planned killing grounds.

3.3 Battle

In absorbing the initial thrust of the enemy attack, battle organization relies on terrain obstruction. The forward defensive emplacements dominate the obstacle field as well as the other side of the border, and the intermittent distances are determined so as to ensure effective control over the entire area. The emplacements have a dual purpose: to hit the enemy force within tactical range with flat trajectory fire of all types, and to direct artillery (and sometimes tanks as well) in firing from rear positions.

To enable these emplacements to fulfill their task they are built very solidly and are heavily fortified to withstand all types of enemy fire.

Between these emplacements, and occasionally in front of and behind them, lines of prepared positions are laid out for the deployment of tanks, infantry and artillery. These positions are dug with an eye to enabling fire to be directed at the enemy at all ranges — beginning with his initial movement toward the border, through the terrain obstruction killing ground and up to the line of positions itself. In laying out these positions various attack configurations are taken into account, and sufficient space is left for shifting the main battle effort or augmenting the defense disposition when the need arises. To the rear of these positions, further additional pre-planned layouts await the arrival of logistics formations, ammunition and supply concentrations, casualty evacuation points, etc.

While these defense emplacements are manned at times of relative

calm along the border, the main forces remain concentrated in permanent camps to the rear. There they engage in regular training activity and maintain readiness to occupy forward positions whenever necessary.

4. BORDER PROTECTION MEASURES — LIMITED ACTIONS

4.1 "Blind" Prevention

A category of special measures has been designed to facilitate the prevention of infiltration by small forces intent on carrying out acts of terror or limited military actions. This is "blind" prevention, in which the preventive means passively "await" the intruder and are operated at the point of infiltration without pre-identifying him.

These measures include: anti personnel mine fields scattered along the border; varying configurations of barbed wire fencing congruent with the minefields; night ambushes (aided by special night-vision equipment) laid at locales where infiltration is made possible and even probable by the lay of the land and the enemy's tactical logic; and motorized recon units patrolling all border sectors day and night. Integration of all these basically "automatic" measures is intended to prevent the infiltration of those enemy forces that "trip them off." Naturally, however, the factor of "learning from experience" is at work here in the enemy camp as well, and as a result a portion of the infiltration teams know how to avoid tripping the "automatic" means aligned against them. Thus an additional series of measures and means is necessary in order to ensure the immediate detection and rapid interception of these infiltrators.

4.2 Early Warning and Detection

The emplacements and long distance observation posts which function within the total war alert system also contribute to the detection of infiltration by small forces. But this is not sufficient: since small forces are far more difficult to detect, particularly at night, a network of special mobile and stationary surveillance stations is deployed for the sole purpose of detecting infiltrations. These observation posts are equipped with a number of instruments, including anti-personnel radar for good coverage against night infiltration, and night-viewing equipment (infra-red and starlight scopes).

The most important of the detection and early warning systems is the electronic fence. This fence bounds all the country's borders, and is constructed in such a way that the border cannot be crossed without in some way touching it. While the fence neither prevents penetration nor even delays the infiltrator for any significant length of time, it does register the act of penetration the moment it occurs. The fence is made up of short sections, in each of which electric circuits are closed by cutting or stretching the wiring. The infiltrator must touch or even damage the fence in some way in the course of his penetration. The resultant signal that a particular section has been penetrated is registered at an electronic switchboard located in a nearby command center, and from there orders are issued to the nearest patrol force to approach the section in question and check out the signal.

The electronic fence is flanked by a smooth dirt road which the infiltrators must cross after negotiating the fence. The tracks left by the infiltrators on the loose earth offer immediate confirmation of the penetration as well as some indication of the make-up of the penetrating force and its intended direction.

4.3 Interception

After the infiltration has been verified and pinpointed with the aid of one or more of the aforementioned techniques, the sector command post deploys all available forces in the region for the chase: the motorized reconnaissance patrols on the border road, units in ambushes laid near the penetration point (if the infiltration has taken place at night), and alert forces waiting in rear positions to be called. The pursuit develops, assisted by trackers and by observation posts which now focus their equipment on the infiltrated sector. The entire area is sealed off and searched systematically until the infiltrators are either captured or killed.

5. BORDER PROTECTION MEASURES — SEA AND AIR

5.1 The Naval Arena

Much of Israel's sea coast is taken up by bathing beaches, marinas and harbors, and thus it cannot be fortified like a land border. Therefore, the sea border is defended for the most part in the sea itself. Navy patrol boats cover the coasts closely, while missile boats patrol the seas, venturing beyond Israel's territorial waters. Every suspect naval movement picked up by the boats' radar is thoroughly investigated. The boats are also assisted by shore-based radar stations located at key areas along the coast.

These naval activities are supplemented by routine air action: specially equipped planes comb the sea to identify suspect vessels and report their location and direction to navy ships. Surveillance posts located on the coast itself provide visual command of the nearby waters. And motorized patrols and local reinforcements ensure that infiltrators who succeed in penetrating air and naval defenses of the sea border are intercepted at the beach.

5.2 The Air Arena

Israel's special geographic situation makes it essential to ensure detection of aircraft infiltration as early as possible — before actual penetration has taken place. This detection capability is based on a very advanced ground radar network, assisted by Hawk Eye E-2C airborne warning craft. Its goal is to pinpoint take-offs and landings throughout the region, identify the planes involved and allow for early assessing of their intentions.

The Israeli air force is large in relation to the country's limited expanse, and it maintains relatively intensive training activity. Thus there are enough planes in the air at any given moment to be directed to the task of intercepting penetrating enemy planes. Of course there are also planes on the ground in constant readiness to scramble and intercept.

The Israeli anti-aircraft network is composed primarily of Hawk and Chaparral missiles and AA guns of various calibers. It is deployed partially along the borders, and partially around particularly sensitive military and civilian targets, and is directed by the same early warning and detection network which serves the air force's planes.

6. BORDER PROTECTION MEASURES — THE ACTIVE APPROACH

One cannot deal with the question of border protection in Israel without relating to the "active" dimension — that involving those preventive steps which Israel initiates against terror. This additional dimension is directed toward striking at the terrorist organizations' military infrastructure and restricting their ability to act against Israel. It involves raids on departure bases, training camps, arms and equipment dumps, command posts, etc.

Another important aspect of active prevention is the fire response to terrorist actions. The fire response (artillery, air strikes, naval actions) is designed to extract a high price for any and every terrorist attack initiative (as well as for limited initiatives by enemy regular armies). This form of retaliation is particularly suitable for use against terrorist artillery fire since the latter does not require infiltration into Israel, and the border protection measures described above can neither prevent nor thwart it. At the same time, the fire response policy entails a certain political price, as at times it involves inevitable injury to civilians. In this respect Israel tries to strike an optimum balance between maintaining her military freedom of action and adjusting means and objectives to political limitations. Indeed, this is also true to some extent regarding the policy of preventive action against the terrorist organizations' military infrastructure.

7. CONCLUSION

Border protection measures in Israel are a function of the dual nature of the threat — total war and limited actions — and of the particular characteristics of each theater of action.

Along the Lebanese border the emphasis is placed on measures against terrorist infiltration. The present political and military situation in Lebanon allows for a wide degree of active preventive warfare to take place on the other side of the border.

The emphasis on the Syrian border is on defense against total war. This is Israel's most heavily fortified border, both because Syria has the greatest martial potential of Israel's Arab neighbours, and in view of the absence of significant natural obstacles which could hinder the Syrian army in an offensive advance.

Deployment along the Jordanian border is directed against the two threats equally: the Jordan River and Dead Sea constitute a significant natural obstacle against total war, thus affording the possibility of devoting some defensive efforts to anti terrorist activity.

The new border with Egypt will, it is hoped, be a peaceful one, and the solution to defense problems there will evidently be based on mobile armored forces.

The sea and air borders will remain extremely problematic, and the need may arise to find new solutions on these fronts in addition to those already being applied.

Ultimately, the most efficient way to defend a small country like Israel with long and unfriendly borders without exhausting her economic and manpower resources, is deterrence. The creation of a reliable deterrent, based on military force capable of inflicting overwhelming damage to the aggressor, and on a demonstration of determination to do so whenever the need arises, is a central feature of Israel's security doctrine. Deterrence of this nature, and the concomitant element of advanced strategic intelligence which provides early warning of enemy aggressive intentions, are the subject of a separate discussion.

ABNA' AL-BALAD ACTIVIST DISCUSSES EUROPEAN CONTACTS

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 24 Sep 82 p 11

[Article by Awad Abdel Fattah]

[Text]

The Abna' al-Balad (Sons of the Country) movement, said spokesman Hassan Jabarin, of Um al-Fahm, the Triangle, has had a busy summer. At the beginning of July he was delegated to represent the movement at the party conference of the Italian Proletarian Party. He followed this with a speaking tour of Britain.

Hassan, a former political prisoner, was the first Palestinian from within the 1948 borders of Israel to attend the conference. It was held in Milan, the stronghold of Italian Proletarian Party the IPP, and gave him the opportunity to meet representatives of socialist parties from all over the world. The IPP is the most active and supportive force for the Palestinian cause in Italy. He reports that during his week in Italy he saw several demonstrations and other solidarity activities for the Palestinian people as well as protest activities which were organised by the IPP against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Hassan also recalled that the Party's representative to the European parliament raised a Palestinian flag when Anwar Sadat, the former Egyptian president addressed them in 1980. He chanted

"Revolution, Revolution until Victory" during Sadat's speech. Besides the Red Flag, the Palestinian flag was the only one to fly in the conference hall, said Hassan.

"When I finished my speech," Hassan added, "the approximately 3000 conferees stood up and clapped warmly and some of them even gave me salutary kisses.

"This warm welcome and appreciation was not for my person," he clarified "but for the Palestinian people who have resisted and withstood all annihilation attempts made by hostile forces."

The conferees, said Hassan, were surprised to learn that there are 600,000 Palestinians living within the 1948 borders of Israel. They were more surprised at the oppressive and discriminatory policies adopted by the Israeli government against these Palestinians, who are classed as Israeli citizens. Confiscation of massive amounts of Palestinian land; the policy of enforced ignorance, the neglect of Palestinian villages; the deportation of Naqab Beduins and the conditions in the mixed cities, which were the central themes of Hassan's speech, shocked most of

those he met, he said. During his stay in Italy Hassan met the chairman of Lombardy provincial parliament, Sergio Marvelli. He asked him to support the Palestinian struggle and pressure the Italian parliament to this end, and for them to recognise the PLO. Hassan reports that Marvelli replied, "I wonder how this (Jewish) people who suffered the Nazi oppression can practice the same forms of suppression against the people of Palestine." Hassan received Marvelli's promise to change his attitude to the Palestinian problem.

No less important, says Hassan, was the opportunity to meet delegates of several revolutionary movements in the world and exchange views with them over national and international issues.

The spokesman of Abna' al-Balad, with help from friends, then flew to Britain where he spoke in the House of Commons, and made dozens of lectures on the reality and the suffering of the Palestinian people in general and the Palestinians in Israel, in particular. "One of the central points that I focused on," Hassan pointed out, "was the phenomenon of opposition to the war which the Palestinian steadfastness in Lebanon produced among the Israelis."

He told all those he met and talked to that the invasion of Lebanon will not end the Palestinian cause, and that for the first time the Zionist leadership has failed to convince Israelis and the Jews that the war was unavoidable.

Upon his arrival in Britain Hassan was invited by the Emergency Committee Against the Invasion of Lebanon, which was founded on the eve of the invasion by prominent Britons. They organised several protest actions against the invasion. Hassan attended a preparatory meeting for the biggest anti-war demonstration in Britain during the Lebanon conflict. Hassan suggested that the Committee invite anti-war Israelis to speak in the demonstration. Gai Beldfaski, an Israeli soldier who had refused to serve in the occupied territories with 26 others, and who happened to be in London, was chosen. More than 15,000 people took part in the demonstration, July 31.

The head of the ECAIL arranged for Hassan to meet five members of the House of Commons and two members of the House of Lords. One of the Lords was Lord Carradon, mandate military governor of Nablus and author of UN Resolution 242.

Hassan also spoke about the conditions of the Palestinian masses in Israel to several political groups such as the "New Work" group based in Brixton, a Black neighbourhood in South London. According to Hassan the social conditions of the Blacks in Brixton are similar to those of the Palestinians.

In a lecture to the London-based Jewish Socialist Group he concentrated on the

policy of the Israeli Labour Party. "I spoke about the 'reality' of the kibbutz," Hassan said, "which was set up on the expense of the lands of the Palestinians who were considered 'absentees.'" He also underlined the discriminatory and oppressive policy which the Israeli Labour Party practiced against the Palestinian Arabs when it was in office.

During his 15-day stay in Britain and during all activities he attended, large sums of money were raised for the Palestinian Red Crescent. The money found its way to wounded Lebanese and Palestinians.

The Benefits of the Trip

Hassan Jabarin, who introduced himself to all those he met as the "representative of Abna' al-Balad movement which operates among the Palestinian masses in Israel," gained the impression that the Palestinian people are enjoying high respect among the peoples of the world. "Some even told me that the Palestinian people have become the symbol of the revolution in the world," he said.

Summarising the gains of his visit Hassan reports that, firstly it shed light on a considerable part of the Palestinian people (in Israel), enriched "our" revolutionary experience through the knowledge of others, forged new relationships with European groups, political parties and factions; explained the attitudes of the Palestinians in Israel to the war in Lebanon and enabled him to show "our pride over the Palestinian-Lebanese steadfastness against Israel."

CONTROL OF ARAB EDUCATION IN TERRITORIES EXAMINED

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 1 Oct 82 p 14

[Article by Sam'an Khoury]

[Text]

Until June 5, 1967, education in the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, followed the Jordanian system and curriculum, with district education departments directly supervised by the Jordanian Ministry of Education.

But with the Israeli occupation in 1967, both government and private schools within the Israeli military-controlled West Bank, and civil-controlled Jerusalem came under the direction of another power: the Israeli liaison officer-in-charge of education, whose authority is derived from military domination, superseded the former authority, the Jordanian Ministry of Education, whose power still prevails more through moral allegiance and anti-occupation feelings among the Palestinian population.

Likewise, the curriculum was changed to an Israeli orientation, and students were required to pass the Israeli high school certificate exam (*bagrut*) in place of the Jordanian one (*tawjihi*), which is still required in the West Bank. But privately-owned and run schools within the Jerusalem district continued to follow the Jordanian curriculum and their students registered for the *tawjihi* exams at one of the West Bank education departments.

(Gaza, previously under Egyptian administration, is a different case still -- see story, page 13)

According to international conventions, the indigenous law should prevail in occupied territories; that is, Jordanian law, including education regulations, should remain in force. The real situation is much different. "Although the Jordanian ministry issues a list of the required textbooks for Palestinian students from grades one through twelve, the Israeli occupation authorities, through the education liaison officer, overrule the Amman decision," a Jerusalem teacher of 26 years told *Al Fajr*.

The ties between teachers in the West Bank and the Jordanian Ministry of Education are not only related to curriculum. Teachers who were employed by the ministry before 1967 are still retained on the Jordanian payroll and receive the basic Jordanian salary in addition to their salary distributed by the Israeli military education department. In early 1982, the Jordanian government decided also to double-pay teachers employed after 1967; the difference is that they are not registered on the payroll and the monthly payment they receive is considered a grant.

Jordan attempts to monitor the quality of education as well. A 40-day summer training course is required of teachers employed before 1967. These courses are usually offered in Jordan, but recently the Jordanian Education

Ministry approved certain courses given at West Bank universities. Non-participation in these courses can hinder the teacher's grade increments. Education directors are still supposed to send to Amman yearly reports about the teachers' academic performance.

A special exam committee was formed in the West Bank, after the 1967 occupation, to administer the *tawjihi* examinations, which, before then had been centrally prepared by the ministry's examination department and distributed to all the education districts in the Hashemite kingdom, the West Bank included.

The West Bank examination committee now coordinates with its Amman counterpart, but the questions, although similar, are no longer identical. The twice-yearly examination timetable is coordinated, as are the scoring and issuing of results.

In addition, the Jordanian ministry in Amman issues its own *tawjihi* certificates, headed "The Hashemite Kingdom", to replace those issued in the West Bank and necessarily headed "Israeli Defence Forces Command." "This helps the students apply for universities in the Arab world," explained one West Bank teacher.

Despite these aberrations most Jordanian education laws and regulations have been preserved due to the insistence of the West Bank population, particularly students and teachers. In Jerusalem's government schools, for example, the curriculum was totally reversed twice during the 15 years of occupation; when the Israelis occupied and annexed Jerusalem and took control over government schools in the city, the change was immediate. But the results amazed the Israelis. Only 29 students registered at Rashidiyeh school in 1968, compared to 2,000 students the year before. The following year only nine students registered at the same school. Other government schools shared a similar fate until the

Israeli government reintroduced the Jordanian curriculum to lure back students. Starting first with grade 12 and continuing grade after grade, the curriculum change was completed in 1981. But the Israeli government does insist that Hebrew language and Israeli social history be taught in East Jerusalem schools.

ARABS OF HAIFA EXPRESS FEELINGS OF DISCRIMINATION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE in English 5 Nov 82 pp 6-7

[Article by Yaacov Friedler]

[Text]

THE MASSACRE in the Beirut refugee camp aroused shock and anger throughout Israel's Arab community and sparked off widespread disturbances in Galilee and the Little Triangle. Even Haifa's traditionally tranquil Arab community took to the streets; for the first time, Arab shops in Haifa were closed and a peaceful protest march was held downtown. Several rocks were thrown at passing vehicles, and seven demonstrators were held briefly for questioning.

This isolated incident stands out sharply against the many years of cooperation which has characterized Haifa's inter-community relations.

The Arabs of Haifa are probably the most "Israeli" of Israel's Arabs, integrated into the city's economic life, working side by side with Jewish colleagues, studying at Haifa University and the Technion and to some extent mixing socially with the city's Jewish residents. "In Haifa, I feel at home. In Tel Aviv, and even in Jerusalem, I don't," one veteran Arab Haifaite noted.

It is difficult to get exact demographic figures. According to the municipality 16,300 of Haifa's 227,400 residents (7.2 per cent) are Arabs. But reliable Arab statistics put their number at 24,000 (over 10 per cent), with another 4,000 living in Haifa but registered in their villages to retain local voting rights.

Whichever figure is closer to the truth, it is still a far cry from the 75,000 to over 100,000 (again the figures vary) who lived in the mixed Jewish-Arab town before 1948, when Arabs made up almost one-half of the population.

In April 1948, a month before the State of Israel was established and while the British were still in charge, the Hagana, responding to Arab provocations, launched an attack and took over the city. All but 3,500 of Haifa's Arabs, including the community's entire leadership, fled. They either went to the Arab areas of Galilee or moved to neighbouring countries. Nearly all of those who remained in Haifa were Christians.

ARABS WHO were in Haifa at the time agree that the mass panic and flight were instigated by Arab propaganda. They clearly recall that the Jewish mayor, Shabtai Levy, drove through the Arab quarters in a van with a loudspeaker, appealing to the people to stay and live in Israel with their Jewish brethren. But the efforts of Levy and others failed to persuade the Arabs to stay in Haifa.

When the state was established, the 3,500 remaining Arabs were ordered to stay within the confines of Wadi Nisnas, the town's main Arab neighbourhood. But over the years, the Arabs returning from Galilee settled in the other former Arab quarters of town as well.

Today, Wadi Nisnas, between the Hadar and downtown sectors, is still the main Arab quarter, with a population of over 8,000 and many shops and restaurants. The other major concentrations are in Rehov Abass in Hadar Hacarmel, the Ein Hayam quarter on the western outskirts, the Carmel Station area, Upper Halissa on the eastern edge of town and Kababir on Mt. Carmel, where the close-knit Ahmedite Moslem community lives.

Said Farhan of the Labour Council's Arab section, who is also chairman of the Wadi Nisnas neighbourhood committee and secretary of the Labour Party's downtown branch, has what are probably the city's best-kept

statistics on Arabs. According to Farhan, about 1,000 Arabs also live in Jewish quarters, while others have spilled over from the traditionally Arab quarters into surrounding neighbourhoods.

The Arabs of Haifa comprise almost 17,000 Christians, subdivided into various religious communities, and nearly 7,000 Sunni Moslems, in addition to the Ahmedites, says Farhan. The largest Christian community, the Greek Catholics, numbers about 8,500 followed by Greek Orthodox, Maronites, Roman Catholics, Armenians and Protestants. These active communities run clubs and scout troops, as well as parochial schools.

FARHAN, who is an expert in the field, says the economic condition of Haifa's Arabs is "good," although they are beginning to feel the effects of the recession. Their unemployment rate is similar to that of Jewish workers, standing at about 7 per cent.

Arabs are found in almost all fields: academics, including seven senior and six junior lecturers at Haifa University; school teachers; lawyers; clerks; a few actors, some in the Jewish productions; skilled and unskilled workers. There are a number of Arab contractors, many of them Ahmedites and shopkeepers, restaurateurs, garage and workshop owners. Several professionals run their own offices, including doctors and three dentists.

Yet with the exception of a large automated pitta bakery, Haifa's Arabs have not moved into industry. The city's wealthier families, the Khavats and Abunadars, have preferred to concentrate on real estate and building.

THE STUDENT explosion has hit the Arab sector, and several hundred young Arabs are enrolled at universities in Israel and Italy, and through Rakah (Communist) scholarships, in Eastern Europe as well. Most Arab schoolchildren study in parochial schools run by the religious communities; others are in the state system and a very small number go to the prestigious private school, the Reali.

Abba Khoushy, who was mayor of Haifa from 1951 until his death in 1968, was very sensitive to Arab-Jewish relations in the city and worked hard to nurture them. He laid the groundwork for today's amicable co-existence, which is rarely disturbed, although there is undoubtedly an undercurrent of hostility whose extent is difficult to gauge. But it is a fact that almost no Haifa Arabs have ever been sentenced for engaging in hostile activity and that the series of bombings which rocked the city in the late Sixties was eventually traced to Arabs from Galilee.

In 1960 Abba Khoushy established a joint Arab-Jewish municipal high school that was to foster unity and brotherhood. In practice it didn't work out that way. Most of the classes were segregated by the pupils' own choice, with the Arabs opting for intensive study of Arabic and the New Testament while the Jewish pupils chose Hebrew and the Old Testament. Even during breaks they tended to stay apart and the school soon became a mere roof for two separate groups. The experiment was allowed to die a natural death a year ago.

On the other hand, Haifa is the home of another Abba Khoushy brainchild, the unique Beit Hagefen Arab-Jewish centre, which boasts a mixed folk-dance troupe that does very well on foreign tours, an Arab theatre group, and joint cultural activities. Farhan regrets that the centre "is not the success its budget might make it," adding that Arabs feel hurt that it has never had an Arab director.

FARHAN, 56, a Greek Catholic, blames the absence of large-scale social intercourse between Jews and Arabs in Haifa mainly on television "which has ruined all social intercourse." But he stresses that neighbourly relations are excellent, barring an occasional angry outburst, and notes that "at least 10 per cent of the guests are Jewish" at Arab weddings. He finds it only natural that Arabs want to live in their own quarters near their own food stores, churches and schools.

Newlyweds who rent flats (the Arabs prefer not to buy apartments) outside their neighbourhoods tend to return when their children reach school age. Only the very rich move out for good and they favour Kababir and the mixed Christian-Druse village of Isfiye on Mt. Carmel.

Though housing conditions in Wadi Nisnas are described in a municipal report as overcrowded and dangerous, "key money there is higher than in many other quarters because of the big demand," Farhan said.

Despite the popular image of

Haifa Arabs as moderates, the city is also the home of the Rakah Communist Party centre and its nationalistic, largely anti-Israeli daily, *Al-Itihad*. Democratic Front for Peace and Equality MK Tawfik Toubi, lives in Haifa, while the sole Arab city councillor, Zahi Karkabi, represents Rakah. But Farhan notes that even when Israel's Arabs, countrywide, were giving 40 per cent of their votes to Rakah, casting their ballots not for Marxism but for Arab nationalism, Haifa's Arabs gave the party only half that number.

A VERY sore point with Farhan is that while Wadi Nisnas was included in the Project Renewal programme for rehabilitating the country's slums, and certainly deserved to be, "nothing has been done except for operating the schools in the afternoons as clubs for youngsters and the elderly."

The burning problem of housing improvement has not been touched. "No Jewish community overseas has been found to adopt the Wadi as they adopt Jewish slums," he said, "and if we were to find Arab donors, their money would be suspect as PLO-originated."

Housing is the major immediate problem of Haifa's Arabs and unless it is tackled quickly and efficiently by the government, an Arab ghetto and ghetto mentality are bound to develop — and are indeed already budding. These were the findings of an exhaustive study of the issue by Yosef Ben-Artzi for Haifa University's Jewish-Arab Centre in 1980. He advocated building in and around existing Arab neighbourhoods, "because

they have already spread out to where they are willing to live and they want to retain their internal contacts on their present high level." His study showed that many Arabs who could afford to move out preferred to stay.

Officially, Arabs enjoy equal rights in Israel. In practice they do not, the study noted. Successive governments have ignored their housing problems while building *shikunim* for Jews by the thousand. If this neglect continues, the day will come when the developing ghetto will explode, as did Haifa's Wadi Salib during the "Moroccan rebellion" of the Fifties.

On the individual level, a newly-married Arab couple cannot expect the same mortgage assistance because they lack the critical credit points granted to ex-servicemen.

THIS RAISES the problem of military service. Since the beginning of the state, the government has exempted the country's Arabs from compulsory service to avoid forcing them to take up arms against their brethren across our borders, and no doubt also to steer clear of the security problems that would arise. This has given Arab youths a head start of three years of study or wage earning, while their Jewish counterparts are serving their country. But this has not turned out to be a long-term advantage, since it deprives Arabs of the ex-serviceman status that opens up housing and job opportunities and brings additional child allowances.

In 1955 a Christian Arab volunteer unit was established by the IDF to answer the need, and during the few years it numbered 300 to 400 men, most of them from Haifa, served in it. One man who was seriously wounded was awarded a 100-per-cent disability pension and all the accompanying rights.

While the government has never avoided the issue as "too delicate," Farhan and other leading Arabs in Haifa now openly call for compulsory service to be extended to all citizens of Israel.

Inevitably there have been some Jewish-Arab marriages, mostly of Moslem men and Jewish women. While there are no statistics, Farhan estimates the number at about 50

couples. There have also been some rare cases of Arab women marrying Jewish men, usually after attending the same university course. Like the Jewish community, the Arabs have lost some of their number to emigration, mostly Christians who chose the U.S., Canada and Australia as their new home.

What are the three main problems facing Haifa's Arabs? Farhan lists housing for newlyweds; "fair representation" in government and public institutions, both in elected offices and senior-level jobs; and compulsory military service, in that order. "You might be surprised how few of our young men would object if they were called up," he smiled.

UNLIKE the small and well-to-do community of Ahmedite Moslems on Mt. Carmel, many of them small contractors, the 7,000-strong Sunni Moslem community, living downtown and in Halissa, is on the lower end of the social scale. "About 90 per cent are unskilled labourers; we have very few merchants and intellectuals," says Arfan Abu Hamed, the soft-spoken, 61-year-old head of the Wakf, the Moslem religious trust.

The Sunnis came to Haifa from the Galilee villages after 1948. Most of them arrived dirt poor, have made little progress "and are now worse off than the villagers, who have moved ahead," Abu Hamed says. The generally large families send their children out to work at an early age, first in the vegetable markets and later on as dustmen. "We have one lawyer, one doctor who studied in Eastern Europe, some teachers and no leaders," he noted.

He himself recently retired from Israel Radio after 25 years as editor of Arab literary programmes. He sees Haifa as a "democratic town" and regards the Arabs' participation in the protest following the Beirut massacre as a "minimal demonstration of solidarity with the victims, without hate or fanaticism." He thinks "even Rakah" is different, more moderate in Haifa, where most of the rank and file are Moslems.

Abu Hamed feels at home in Haifa and stresses that "it's the meeting place for all the Arabs of Galilee."

He strongly supports the idea of compulsory military service for Arabs, including Moslems, "because without it we shall never be equals." But he insists that they should be allowed to join the units of their choice and not be banded together in a "minority" unit.

His office is situated in the large and well-kept Al-Istiklal mosque downtown. The mosque was built in 1930, when the Haifa Moslems broke away from the hegemony of the Mufti, Haj Amin el Husseini, and named their house of prayer Istiklal (Independence). A few years ago, the community was divided over whether to agree to a Housing Ministry proposal to remove the old graveyard, across the street from the mosque, and use the land for a 71-unit apartment house, including a youth club, kindergarten and shops.

Rakah and other extremists turned the issue into a *casus belli* against the state, but the community finally agreed. The man who signed the agreement, Suheil Shukri, the then chairman of the Haifa Wakf, subsequently left the country under a cloud.

Now, two years later, "all we have to show is the ministry's sign at the site announcing the forthcoming construction," Abu Hamed said bitterly. The extremists gloat; given the community's pressing a need for flats, the failure to build them seems to indicate the government's indifference.

JOHN MAJDALANI was born in Haifa 65 years ago and his family remained there in 1948. He recently retired from the Customs service after 47 years, with the rank of assistant chief valuer. He is the president of the Greek Orthodox community's committee.

His house, which his father built, is one of several in Majdalani Lane, off Zionism Avenue in Upper Hadar. Jews and Arabs live side by side "and we have no trouble."

He is proud of his community's wide-ranging activities and especially of its high school, which is fully recognized by the Education Ministry. The school, which draws most of its pupils from other com-

munities, offers Arabic, Hebrew and English courses.

"All our youths graduate from the school and 90 per cent go on to university. Four are senior lecturers with doctorates and we have physicians, engineers and contractors."

Majdalani attributes the high attainments of the community to the generally small size of its families. He himself has three sons, one a dentist who studied in Greece and twins who live in the U.S., where they studied economics and stayed to become company directors. His daughter, who graduated from Haifa University, lives in California with her Haifa-born husband.

Majdalani believes that the discrimination suffered by Haifa's Arabs stems mainly from their exemption from army service, which holds them back in the job market. Some young men who studied electronics at the Technion have been unable to find jobs in their profession and have had to retrain, "because obviously the electronic firms do a lot of defence work and prefer to avoid possible security risks." He maintains that this would change if they served in the IDF and is a vigorous advocate of compulsory service, as opposed to "allowing" Arabs to volunteer.

Majdalani has served on various municipal committees dealing with Arab housing problems, but save for talk, nothing has come of them. At one meeting, he strongly objected to a proposal that individual solutions be found within newly-built housing units in Jewish quarters. The Arabs want to stay together and they must not be housed separately, he insists.

HAIFA takes pride in its status as a mixed city where Jews and Arabs live peacefully together — and with good reason. But the city fathers would be ill advised to ignore burning problems of the Arabs, which can be solved with some goodwill. It would be unreasonable to expect the existing feelings of discrimination to be suppressed indefinitely. But their explosion can — and must — be prevented. □

10/10/81

NAZARETH ARABS COMPLAIN OF JEWISH BOYCOTT

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 31 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Yoel Dar]

[Text]

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Arab merchants and dignitaries here have appealed to the mayor of Upper Nazareth to find ways to improve relations between the two neighbouring cities.

Relations between the Arab city and the Jewish township have been uneasy since September 22, when Arabs protesting the Beirut massacre blocked all access to Upper Nazareth and stoned nine vehicles owned by Jewish residents.

As a result of this many Jewish residents of Upper Nazareth and of neighbouring settlements have stopped shopping in Nazareth. Arab workers in the Jewish town meanwhile complain that they are being subjected to anti-Arab insults.

The Likud Party in Upper Nazareth on Friday circulated a hand-bill which said that "our

answer to Arab violence is to cut off our contacts with our neighbours unless local groups stand up and condemn such actions."

Upper Nazareth Mayor Menahem Ariav told *The Jerusalem Post* on Friday that he has warned that Jewish settlers will not stand idly by if their Arab neighbours continue taking the law into their hands.

Ariav who is also the chairman of the council of 39 Jewish settlements in Galilee, stressed that he told his Arab neighbours that illegal demonstrations, stoning cars and raising Palestinian flags twice in less than six months raises anti-Arab feelings, and that not only those responsible for such actions would suffer.

The Post learned that in the Arab city leaflets were circulated last week calling for friendly coexistence in the two sectors.

JSO: 4400/82

GALILEE ARABS FEAR LAND EXPROPRIATION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 31 Oct 82 p 3

[Text]

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Representatives of 14 Arab villages in Galilee have protested against the recent decision to include lands belonging to Arabs under the jurisdiction of Misgav, a new Jewish regional council.

They allege that in some cases the Interior Ministry took thousands of dunams from the jurisdiction of Arab local councils from Turan in the east to Majdal Kroum in the west and included them under the jurisdiction of Misgav.

In Araaba, the spokesmen said, the ministry selected plots which are designated for a residential quarter and a local school and an-

nexed them to the Jewish regional council. They claimed that some 11,000 dunams owned by Arabs were included in the Misgav plan, and said the owners fear the government intends to expropriate the land for construction of further Jewish settlements.

The northern district representative of the Interior Ministry, Israel Koenig, on Friday told *The Jerusalem Post* that none of the land which is included in the jurisdiction of Arab local councils had been annexed to the Jewish regional council. He said that plots of land belonging to Arab residents had been included in the jurisdiction of Misgav only for "planning reasons."

CSO: 4400/82

HARASSMENT OF 'AL-FAJR' EDITORS DESCRIBED

Jerusalem AJ-FAJR in English 15 Oct 82 p 16

[Text]

Al Fajr came under renewed attack from the Israeli authorities, last week, almost a year since the papers were last closed. Ziad Abu Ziad, new editor of the Arabic paper and editor of the new Hebrew weekly *Al Fajr al-Arabi* was arrested, October 7, and held for four days for a traffic violation. Hanna Siniora, chief editor of *Al Fajr* publications was given an order preventing him from entering the West Bank, October 11, and from entering the Gaza Strip, the next day. Sam'an Khoury, editor of the English language weekly edition was held, October 10, for 12 hours' interrogation at the Muscobiyya. Khoury described the questioning as "harassment".

Meanwhile, David Richardson, *The Jerusalem Post* West Bank correspondent renewed what some people are calling his personal vendetta against the paper. The *Post* writer, whose articles were a feature of last year's campaign, focussed on Ziad Abu Ziad. He ran two quotes from his usually unnamed "police sources" first claiming Ziad was being held on "suspicion of hostile terrorist activity," and a claim that

Ziad could have used his car "to smuggle a car bomb into Jerusalem."

_____ *River* Abu Ziad was arrested, October 7, after he had gone to occupation headquarters in Bethlehem to pick up a permit for a visit to Amman. While there, a military officer noticed that Ziad was driving a yellow number plated car and arrested him. Cars in Israel and East Jerusalem have yellow plates, in the rest of the West Bank blue plates, and in the Gaza Strip, grey. It is an offence for anyone to drive a car not corresponding to their residence as written in their ID cards.

After being arrested, Ziad says, he was told he would be held for 48 hours. Later the Bethlehem police called up Colonel Yigael Karmon, present head of the 'civil administration.' Ziad, who overheard the conversation, says Karmon's attitude seemed to be "Now we've got him." Ziad's detention was then extended to 96 hours. He made a statement telling the police that he had officially registered the car in his name, but had been told to "come back later" when he tried to

change the plates at the authorities' Ramallah licensing department. "I intended to return when my driving license expired, October 10," Ziad told *Al Fajr* colleagues.

East Jerusalem lawyer Elias Khoury told *Al Fajr* that violation could be a military offence, but that Ziad should have been detained for only 24 or 48 hours.

Ziad's detention was extended, October 9, on the signature of a military officer. He was released on bail the next day, however. Ziad is charged with the traffic violation. There is no mention of alleged security violations on his charge sheet. Ziad told colleagues later that he considers he was released early because of "pressure from outside." Amnon Kapeliuk, Dani Rubinstein and Zvi' Barel, the West Bank correspondents of *Al Hamishmar*, *Davar* and *Haaretz* visited their fellow journalist in jail.

On the morning of Ziad's release David Richardson published a story in *The Jerusalem Post* under the headline: " 'Al Fajr' editor held on 'sec-

unity offence'. After giving the story of Ziad's arrest Richardson ran his allegations—attributed to other sources—of "terrorism" and "car bombs." Even he, however, admitted in the same article that "security sources" and "defence ministry officials" had no knowledge of the allegations he printed.

Asked for comment on the allegations made in Richardson's article Ziad told an *Al Fajr* colleague, "It's silly because nobody charged me with that. I really don't know how to comment on it." Ziad noted that after he made his initial statement on the traffic violation, he had not been questioned at all by the police.

Contacted by *Al Fajr* David Richardson admitted that he had not tried to contact *Al Fajr* or Ziad's family for a rebuttal of the allegations in his story. Asked "Did you ask anyone at *Al Fajr* for a comment?" Richardson said, "No." In a story in the *Post* the following day the paper noted Ziad's release and made no comment on their earlier allegations.

Ziad Abu Ziad told colleagues that he believes the arrest has "a straight link with *Al Fajr*." He was detained, he says, "because I'm news editor of the Arabic paper and editor in charge of the Hebrew edition."

On October 11, Hanna Siniora picked up an order from the Muscobiyya forbidding him from entering the West Bank. The order, signed by military commander of the Central Reg-

ion, Uri Orr, was issued under the Emergency Defence Regulations (1945). The order was signed on August 15 and runs for six months. When asked why the order took so long to deliver, the police reportedly told Siniora, "bureaucracy."

The next day another order was delivered barring Siniora from the Gaza Strip. Uniquely, this order runs for 11 months, from September 1982 to August next year. This order too cites "security" as reason for the restriction of movement.

Sam'an Khoury of English *Al Fajr* was summoned to the same Jerusalem interrogation centre, October 10, for the third time in a month. Khoury is presently engaged in a legal battle with the authorities over the closure of the Jerusalem Office for Translation and Press Services, September 13, of which he is a director. The 12-hour grilling by a team of three officers was "purely political," according to Khoury. "They

seemed to want to establish relations between me and the organisation I belonged to before I was jailed in 1978—the DFLP."

Khoury believes the police are trying to get some kind of "confession" to use in court when he appeals the closure of JOTPS. "They told *The New York Times* recently that the office was a cover for a terrorist organisation. This is not true," he says. Khoury notes that his work for *Al Fajr* also came under scrutiny towards the end of the marathon session.

Commenting on the three pronged blow against *Al Fajr*, Hanna Siniora said, "I think the Israeli establishment wants to create unfavourable publicity towards *Al Fajr*. Soon we have a court case (*Al Fajr* is appealing against a recent distribution ban) and they want to show that *Al Fajr* is against the state. This way they've prepared their public for any action they take against *Al Fajr*."

SETTLEMENT, LAND EXPROPRIATION ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

Two New Settlements

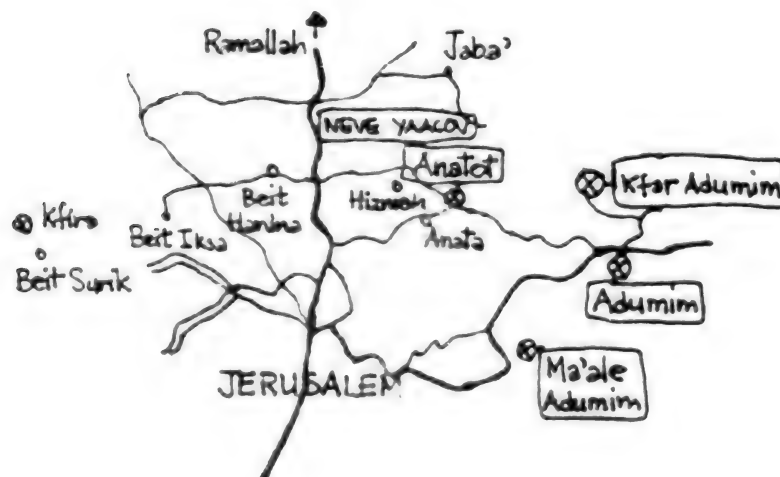
Jerusalem AL FAJR in English 8 Oct 82 p 3

[Text]

Ground work began this week on two new settlements around Jerusalem. The settlements are to be built on land confiscated from Hizma and Anata residents, northeast of Jerusalem, and on Beit Surik residents' land, northwest of Jerusalem.

An official of the Jewish Agency's settlement department said that the two settlements are part of a master plan which envisages the moving in of 100,000 Israelis around Jerusalem, thus tightening Israeli control over West Jerusalem, and eliminating any chance of its return in case of a political settlement to the Palestinian problem.

Anatot, one of the two planned settlements, will be built on nearly 4,000 dunums of land which was grabbed from the villages of Hizma and its namesake, Anata. Anata residents told *Al Fajr* that they had heard nothing official of the land grab. All they knew, one villager said, was that the residents were told by settlers working on the hillside that they had bought the land from unnamed individuals.



Recently village residents noticed that a few people had moved into prefabricated houses brought to the land almost one month ago. Villagers were alarmed by the move but were unable to do anything about it. A Jerusalem lawyer told *Al Fajr* that land in Jerusalem can be confiscated for the "public good," in this case for Jewish settlement.

The settlement department of the Israeli government had apparently approved the building of Anatot settlement but Israeli papers carried reports of wide differences between West Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek and the government over the launching of the East Jerusalem settlements. According to the Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'ir*, Kollek believes that the initiation of Anatot settlement serves no security purpose. He also says that there are still more than 5,000 apartments for sale

in the south Neve Yaacov settlement to be built next year.

The second Jerusalem area settlement is scheduled to be built on a 1000 dunum plot of land near Beit Surik, northwest of Jerusalem. Village sources said that actual work on the land began October 2 when two bulldozers, guarded by more than 20 soldiers and armed settlers started leveling an area known as Radar Hill. The villagers told *Al Fajr* that the settlers warned them that they have orders to "shoot anybody who approaches the fenced area."

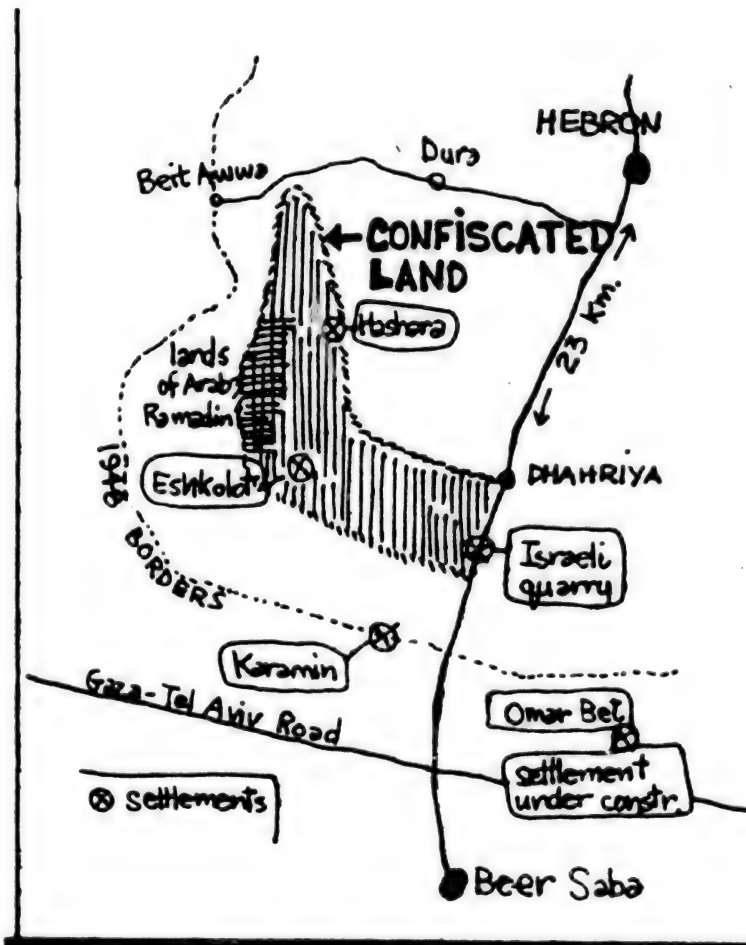
The Beit Surik land was grabbed in January of this year with no official reason given. Settlers simply erected fences around the land, and told landowners to "prove" they own it.

The Jerusalem Post reported that the planned settlement, to be called Kfir, will be occupied by army officers, and Defence Ministry personnel.

Dhahriya Area

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 8 Oct 82 p 3

[Text]



Israeli bulldozers began working to clear thousands of dunums of land in the Dhahriya area, confiscated from four local families last week. Villagers have begun organising for the defence of their land.

Over the last several years three Israeli settlements have been built on the western side of Dhahriya. The Israeli authorities are now erecting a new settlement in the southeastern side within the 1948 borders called Omar Bet. (B)

"The Israeli authorities have taken these vast areas in order to achieve two purposes: first, to connect the Israeli settlement of Karamim, south of Dhahriya, to the other three settlements on the west side to make a belt of settlement. The second purpose is to intensify settlements building in this unpopulated but cultivated area to serve further obvious political aims," a resident of Dhahriya told Al Fajr.

CSO: 4400/91

LAND SALES SAID TO BE ENRICHING WEST BANK ARABS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 1 Oct 82 p 17

[Article: "Judea and Samaria Arabs Getting Rich"]

[Text] The purchase of land from Arabs in Judea and Samaria makes the buyers, most of whom are farmers, rich. The Arab middlemen, who are called "straw Arabs," also get a large portion, not to mention the smart Jewish dealers who risk their lives shuttling between Arabs and Jews, buyers and sellers, respectively.

It is common to pay 10 percent to the "straw Arabs," those who mediate between the seller, the hiding farmer who is concerned about his life and the middleman, also an Arab from Judean and Samaria who risks his life while being guarded by Israelis.

In Samaria, in areas where Israelis wish to build luxury homes, an Arab farmer may get up to \$4,000 for a dunam of stony land. The company operating in Elqana, for example, charges \$6,000. The balance between \$4,000 and \$6,000 is the middleman's profit, of which 10 percent goes to the mediating "straw Arab."

"The Arabs are dying to sell," some middlemen in Samaria have told me. They sell stony land to Jews. They can barely prove their ownership of that land, and yet they make a fortune. They prove ownership through the tax books, which state that they have paid taxes for that land, although they may not own it. One may have inherited the right to farm and did not farm it. The land may have belonged to the Jordanian or the Turkish crown. It could always be returned to its government ownership.

Nevertheless, the sale is considered legal and is recorded accordingly in the district books.

How much do they make?

For example: In the Elqana region, Jewish middlemen have bought 1,600 dunams. If we assume they bought it from 60 farmers, then each one has

sold an average of 20 dunams of stony land for \$4,000 per dunam. Each, then, has earned 2.4 million shekels. Is it any wonder that Arab farmers are quick to get rid of their stony land?

The ongoing relations between the old Arab residents and their new Jewish neighbors are "excellent." Business is flourishing, land is sold. The farmers are needed in the Jewish labor market. They build luxury homes for the Jews, by water lines, erect electric lines and dig sewers.

The standard of living of Judea and Samaria Arabs is going up each year. They have never had such prosperity.

9565

CSO: 4423/18

BRIEFS

WEST BANK HOSPITAL--The Israeli authorities in the West Bank gave the go-ahead for the construction of a new 330-bed Ramallah hospital, October 4. The permit, which was granted to the West Bank Health Association (WBHA) by the 'civil administration,' comes at a time when most West Bank construction projects have been frozen due to the civil administration's ban on the receipt of funds from the joint Jordan-PLO committee which channels into the West Bank funds allocated by the Arab countries. The Israeli daily JERUSALEM POST reported that the permit was granted after the civil administration was apparently satisfied that none of the project's financing would come from the Joint Committee. The WBHA, a 14 member non-profit society headed by Ramallah surgeon Dr. Issa Salti, was granted a license to operate, January 8, by the then-head of the civil administration Menahem Milson. The society's stated aims are for the "expansion of services to the patient and for advancing the technical level of health workers in the West Bank." The hospital, budgeted at US\$30 million, is expected to be the largest in the West Bank, where there is a great shortage of advanced medical care. Prominent West Bank physicians were neutral in their reaction to the announcement. They commented that the West Bank is in need of medical facilities while noting that many medical projects have been turned down. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 8 Oct 82 p 13]

MERKAVA 2 TANK--Tel Aviv (ITIM)--An improved model of the Merkava tank, known as Merkava 2, will be put into use by the IDF Armoured Corps during the coming year, it was announced on Army Radio on Friday. The new model is said to be superior to the first version in its night-fighting capacity and mobility, as well as in certain defensive aspects. The IDF was also reported to be improving the earlier version--which will continue in service--in light of the lessons learned during Operation Peace for Galilee. The earlier version did, however, prove itself in many respects, particularly in its firepower and the protection it afforded its crew, even when absorbing direct enemy hits. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 31 Oct 82 p 3]

FINANCIAL AID FROM KUWAIT

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 37, 1 Nov 82 pp 5-6

[Text]

Jordan has received \$65.5 million in aid from Kuwait, according to a report from Amman. The sum represents the final installment in Kuwaiti aid to Jordan for 1982 and is part of the \$727 million in Arab assistance received this year from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE, Iraq and Qatar within the framework of pledges made at the Baghdad summit of 1978. Algeria and Libya, it was noted, were the only countries which failed to honour their commitments to Jordan.

Arab leaders meeting at the Baghdad summit, convened to protest against the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, agreed to provide Jordan with an annual grant of \$1.25 billion. Finance Minister Salem Masa'deh thanked Arab aid donors, particularly Iraq, for helping to make up for the failure of Libya and Algeria to pay their contributions, when he presented the state budget for 1982 earlier this year. The 1982 budget provided for expenditure of JD 765 million (\$2.157 billion), a 20 per cent rise on the previous year. Mr Masa'deh said that 80.5 per cent of estimated recurrent expenditures would be covered by local revenues, compared to 78 per cent in 1981.

Jordan also gets substantial amounts of money in the form of loans and economic and technical aid, which play an important role in keeping the balance of payments in surplus. Last year a trade deficit of JD 813.7 million was recorded, compared to JD 371.1 million in 1977. There was a rise in the value of exports to JD 242.6 million, 41 per cent more than the previous year. But an even faster rise in imports to JD 1.06 billion, mainly as a result of the acquisition of Tristar aircraft for Alia, the national airline, accounted for the increased deficit.

According to the 1982 budget law, loans are expected to total \$341.1 million this year, compared with \$209.7 million in 1980. The largest donor was Iraq, with \$60.6 million, followed by Saudi Arabia's Development Fund (\$41.5 million), the World Bank (\$36.7 million), the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (\$25.5 million) and Japan (\$23 million).

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING DIFFICULTIES DISCUSSED

Amman THE JERUSALEM STAR in English 7-13 Oct 82 p 13

[Article by Margi Bryant]

[Text]

"Jordan's agricultural development has been all upside down" says under-secretary for agriculture Dr. Salem Al-Lawzi. "We have seen rapid increase in production but no development of marketing. We used to have easy, unchallenged export outlets to Syria and the Gulf countries, but we're now competing against suppliers like Turkey, where production costs are very low. Marketing has become our central problem."

The Higher Agricultural Council (HAC) has recently approved an ambitious proposal to get to grips with this problem by setting up twin marketing organisations which will replace all other government involvement. The pattern of agricultural development over the past decade, officials say, explains why such a complete re-think had become necessary.

Jordan's export figures do not suggest, at first glance, that the marketing problem is all that serious. Agricultural exports were valued at JD 4 million in 1973, the year the Jordan Valley Commission was established and the first of the recent national development plans began. Last year they reached JD 34 million.

But over the same period, agricultural output has rocketed. Development efforts have concentrated on the Jordan Valley, which has been revolutionised by irrigation hand-in-hand with a complete social infrastructure.

The area under vegetable cultivation has increased from 301,000 to 426,000 dunums, and the area for fruit trees from 275,000 to 415,000 dunums. The proposed Jordan Valley extension in the South Shuneh area will bring another 55,000 dunums under irrigation, mostly for vegetables, in the next year or so.

Vegetable production has risen from 312,000 tonnes in 1973 to 747,000 tonnes last year, and fruit production from 115,000 to 175,000 tonnes. With better crop husbandry and the move from surface irrigation to sprinkler and, more recently, drip systems, yields have been increasing all the time. They are expected to rise by a further 25 per cent between now and 1990.

"What we're afraid of is that we may lose our traditional export outlets just when we need them most-when our production is expanding," says Dr. Sami Sunna, head of the Agricultural Credit Corporation (ACC) and one of the architects of Jordan's new marketing strategy. "Widespread agricultural development and better transport networks have brought newcomers onto the exporting scene. We're competing against them to keep our established markets, as well as to get into new ones. Our only hope is to take a drastic approach to the whole question of marketing, and completely reappraise the present system."

Accident. The existing system has developed more by accident than design. The Jordan Valley farmer may auction his fruit and vegetable produce at one of three local markets--Karama, Sawalha and Wadi Al-Yabis--or take it direct to one of the major wholesale markets--Amman, Zarqa and Irbid.

At the local markets, produce is bought either for export or for resale at the wholesale markets; from the wholesale markets it goes to exporters or retailers. Some of the better-off farmers export their produce direct, while small farmers may sell at the farm gate.

There is very little selection or grading for quality and size, either for the domestic market or export, and no legislation exists to enforce standards. Despite this, a multitude of government or government-related agencies--including the Ministry of Agriculture's marketing department, the Agricultural Marketing Organisation (AMO), The Ministry of Finance and Customs, the Jordan Valley Authority (JVA), The Jordan Valley Farmers' Association, the Jordan Cooperative Organisation and the Agricultural Credit Corporation--are, or have been, involved in some aspect of marketing.

The first systematic look at marketing came in 1977, when the U.S. company Harza Engineering produced a report for the Jordan Valley Commission (now Authority) on likely outlets for Jordanian produce. The study, giving a detailed analysis of current trends and future prospects, forecast that Jordanian vegetable exports would increase by 70 per cent between 1975 and 1995.

"Jordan is in a unique position to provide the Middle East with good quality winter vegetables," the Harza team said. They also noted the possibility of winter exports to Europe, but this would call for vast improvements both in quality control and in the flow of market information between Jordan and importing countries. The team concluded that correctly assessing the export demand for Jordanian produce was the single most important factor in successful long-term marketing plans.

The importance of the export market was also stressed by a team from the U.K.'s government-funded Tropical Products Institute (TPI), who

presented their report early in 1978. The team's main task was to look at likely practical improvements to the marketing system, notably the marketing centres which the JVA was proposing to build, which would include selecting and grading facilities.

The TPI team felt that for export purposes selection and grading would become essential, as vital markets like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia became increasingly quality-conscious.

Competition worrying. Although export figures--especially for tomatoes, cucumbers and squash--were showing a healthy increase and had already caught up with projections, the TPI team warned there was "no scope for complacency".

The most recent figures confirm that Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries are a burgeoning market, but there are signs that competitor countries have already moved in at Jordan's expense. Saudi Arabia imported 5,700 tonnes of tomatoes in 1976. Jordan supplied 57 per cent of these, while Turkey had the smallest share in the market, just 1.3 per cent. By 1981, when Saudi tomato imports had rocketed to 72,900 tonnes, Jordan's share had fallen to 19 per cent while Turkey's had risen to 58 per cent.

Jordan was the sole supplier of aubergines to Saudi Arabia in 1976, but last year supplied only 69 per cent of the market, with Turkey and Lebanon making up the rest. Jordan accounted for 28 per cent of oranges imported into Saudi Arabia in 1976; last year this had dropped to 8 per cent. Jordan has held onto its position as leading supplier of fresh vegetables to Kuwait, but even here, Turkey--which was not in the picture at all in 1976--had an 18 per cent share of tomato imports by 1979.

There has been a growing awareness that good quality produce would be one of the most important factors in tapping Middle Eastern and possibly European markets. The first practical move towards quality control was the government's decision to set up marketing centres in the valley to replace the local wholesale markets. The new centres, with grading, packing and auctioning facilities, were envisaged from the outset as a compulsory stage in the movement of produce from the field

into the market. Built as a turnkey operation by the JVA, to be run by the Jordan Valley Farmer's Association (JVFA), the centres were also intended to be a channel for seasonal credit and agricultural inputs, thus improving coordination all round.

The first centre at Al-Arda—which incorporates a grading and packing station, a wholesale market and a factory with an annual output capacity of 6 million standardised boxes—ran for a trial period of a month at the end of the 1980 season. The results were encouraging because of the prices graded produce could fetch. But in 1981, in response to the valley's notorious tomato glut, the grading equipment was moved out of Al Arda, and tomato processing machinery moved in.

Not enough centres. The short-lived grading experiment was conducted on an entirely voluntary basis, not as a compulsory part of the process, and there was some fairly strong feeling that price incentives alone should provide the compulsion. In any case, with only one centre operational, there was no alternative. "We can hardly force farmers to use these facilities when there aren't enough facilities to go round," says Dr. Munther Haddadin, acting president of the JVA.

The second marketing centre, at Wadi Al-Yabis—with similar facilities to Al Arda—is complete but awaits staffing, and will probably become operational towards the end of next year. Two more centres, at South Shuneh and at Safi, are under construction. When all four are completed, there can be mandatory grading.

But the marketing centres, even when made compulsory, are only a means to an end. "The JVA is putting in the marketing infrastructure," says Haddadin, "but this must operate in the context of a national marketing strategy."

It was precisely this strategy that was so obviously missing when, last year, a sub-committee of the HAC was set up to look into the whole issue. The sub-committee saw the need for clear definition of marketing goals, fast flow of market intelligence, quality controls and standardisation, and a chain of communication from the highest level right down to the individual farmer. It soon became clear that the JVFA—

whose experience lay in credit, inputs and services to farmers—could not be expected to take on so wide-ranging a brief. Nor did any of the organisations already playing some role in marketing encompass the necessary experience.

"Our drastic approach is to split marketing into two distinct sides, control and trading," says committee member Sami Sunna. This means creating two new organisations, and phasing out all other government or government-related involvement in marketing.

"The government will take up its full responsibility for introducing and enforcing quality control in produce and packaging, promotion of Jordanian products, market research, opening up new markets, entering into international trade agreements, and the whole range of activities appropriate to a government marketing board," says Sunna. Whether the board will be a remodelling of the old AMO or a completely new organisation has yet to be decided.

Side by side with this will be a trading company or agency, part government and part private-sector owned.

The exact composition has yet to be agreed, but shares will be held by the JVFA and possibly by individual farmers, as well as by private business interests. "The joint venture company will be run on normal business lines in competition with other exporters, rather than as a monopoly," says Sunna, "but it will also form a much-needed bridge between the government and the farmer." Market intelligence and international agreements obtained by the new board can be passed on by the company to the farmer in the form of advance contracts. The company will manage the marketing centres and liaise directly with the farmers.

"There are limitations to government effectiveness in trading, and limitations to what the private sector can do when it comes to controls or international agreements," he adds. "If we've got the combination right, we have a chain connecting international opportunities with the farmer."

BRIEFS

OIL DRILLING IN AZRAQ--Jordan has started drilling a new oil well near Azraq, 70 kilometres east of Amman, the official Jordanian news agency Petra announced last week. The agency said the new well was being drilled in an area where earlier exploration had indicated the presence of large quantities of oil. At present Jordan does not produce oil commercially, but large amounts of shale oil have been discovered in the country. Ahmed Dakhan, vice-president of Jordan's Natural Resources Authority, was quoted by Petra as saying that a special 50,000 b/d distillation plant would soon be constructed to convert shale oil into liquid fuel, though he added that large-scale oil-from-shale production would require further study. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 37, 1 Nov 82 pp 5-6]

CSO: 4400/85

FACTORS LEADING TO STOCK EXCHANGE CRISIS EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 137, 25 Sep-1 Oct 82 p 44

[Article: "Has the Crisis in the Kuwaiti 'Al-Manakh Exchange' Ended?"]

[Text] After great efforts and deliberations that have preoccupied all of Kuwait during the past weeks, there are preliminary indications that some solution is now being readied for the al-Manakh exchange crisis and that this solution may be blessed by a law to be promulgated by the cabinet quite soon. This law will deal in particular with the question of resolving the issue of postdated checks, the interest rate or "commission" that should be computed on margin deals currently pending, how to compute debts, litigations, the situation of impoverished debtors, bankruptcy cases, etc. It may also involve some urgent organizational principles for the Gulf stock market and margin sales.

In the early stages, the Kuwaiti government had stated that it did not intend to get involved in the market and had asked the speculators, particularly the big ones, to shoulder their responsibilities. However, as the dimensions of the crisis emerged and given the concern over the country's financial reputation and the desire to prevent disaster for thousands of Kuwaitis were the market to be left to its own fate, this prompted the government to change its position and to start prolonged consultations with the key figures of the market to formulate a specific solution that would ensure the rights of all. However, the government at the time stated that although it supported the above solutions, it would not this time proceed to "prop up the market or pay the cost of speculators' mistakes" as happened during the exchange convulsion in 1977. This was done despite the knowledge that the collapse of confidence in the market and the headlong rush by traders to deposit their checks had created an unprecedented state of apprehension and had led to a drop in stock prices and a stagnating demand for many of them, particularly shares of newly incorporated companies. This then had ruin for hundreds of persons who had sold everything they had to buy a piece of the "al-Manakh mania" before they missed out on what they thought was the road to quick riches.

To get some idea of the size of the stock market problem in Kuwait, it will suffice to say that about one of every two Kuwaitis had some connection with the al-Manakh market and that stock speculation, particularly in shares

of closed Gulf companies, had recently become an avocation for thousands, including small savers, white collar workers, craftsmen, students and even some companies and industrial firms. Last year the circle had expanded in particular to some citizens of neighboring countries, particularly the UAE and Bahrain, and even some in Saudi Arabia, giving rise to apprehensions by officials in those countries that the epidemic could spread and prompting some of them to state on more than one occasion that it was necessary to put a stop to this game which had outstripped all sound logic.

The Gulf stocks are basically stocks in companies which have been newly incorporated, primarily by Kuwaitis, but carrying Gulf nationalities because they are registered in the UAE, Bahrain or elsewhere. The reason for this is that Kuwaiti law, or to put it more accurately, Kuwaiti government practice, had barred the incorporation of new companies in Kuwait, some say out of fear of the proliferation of stocks on the market and a fall in the prices of old stocks. However, given the very great financial benefits accruing to individuals, some of them found the solution in incorporating companies outside Kuwait and then trading their stocks on the Kuwaiti market, though unofficially. With time the establishment of Gulf companies turned into a tidal wave with a new company, with bogus capital, being established each month with its shares being placed on the market. Also, the illegal market was transformed into a legal fait accompli called the al-Manakh market or into a quasi-free zone within the Kuwait economic system with its own laws, legislators, practices and game.

Despite the warning signs which appeared from the method of operation in this market and the lack of any basic rules recognized in financial exchanges, the key figures in the market, or the "princes of al-Manakh" as they are called, continued to defend what they were doing, denying that the state had the right to interfere based on the principle of a free economy and the ability of the market to regulate itself by itself.

Causes of the Problem

The primary underlying causes of the problem are the fact that trading is in shares of companies most of which have not in fact operated with some still being only on paper. Nevertheless these companies had recorded profits in their budgets (for all practical purposes profits from speculation on the stocks, not from the production activity for which they were established). Nevertheless, the prices of stocks of these companies had doubled and redoubled without the rise having any basis in real financial activity but rather from the fact that the prices were driven to rise and fall by the big speculators themselves and from their skillful maneuvers in that, as generally stated, they could set fire to the prices or put it out as they wished. It should be kept in mind that exchanges throughout the world bar trading in stock of companies that have not yet operated and which have not been registered for a year or more and have not released audited and valid annual budgets. Also there is an immediate investigation of any unnatural rise in the price of a given stock if this rise is not based on a genuine rise in the assets of the company or on real considerations, such

as profits from specific operations, a rise in the prices of its products, its winning a given deal, etc. If it is established that the rise is unnatural, even if it is only a small one, trading of the stock is suspended until the circumstances are clarified. The key point in the stock market is that the companies are supported by the people in conformity with sound criteria and that this principle is to be protected by the authorities themselves as a protection for the savers and the market itself. Normally, this task is entrusted to a neutral committee to monitor the market. Its members are barred from trading in any form of financial papers on the market so as to reaffirm its neutrality and to avoid them having any interests in the market. This principle was not followed either because the financial papers committee in Kuwait which was assigned the task of monitoring the market primarily comprised the speculators themselves and so could not impose the needed discipline on the market. Add to this the lack of any organization to govern margin sales, the permitting of postdated checks, the lack of registration, the ignorance of traders as to the true supply and demand of the stocks being traded, etc. In this regard, the subject of postdated checks warrants a quick look because it was an important underpinning of the market and ultimately turned into one of the important factors of its collapse. Kuwaiti law provides penalties of up to 5 years in prison for signing or showing a check which had no funds at the time it was signed (this is the situation with postdated checks). In fact, as a deterrent to persons dealing in this type of check, anyone endorsing the check to his account is permitted to deposit it before the time is up and, in this event, the bank is required to pay it immediately before its date. Nevertheless, the signing of postdated checks turned into the basis for trading in margin sales contracts. I buy shares from you now but on a contract delayed for a year and pay for the stocks with checks made out for a later date coinciding with the scheduled date for delivery of the stocks, that is, a year later. You promise in return not to deposit the check at the bank but to keep it in your possession until the date arrives or to endorse it over to another buyer who in turn promises not to deposit the check, and so on and so on. In this whole series of transactions, the checks may turn over dozens of times a day from hand to hand. Nonetheless, the speculators assert that trust is the basis for dealing in the al-Manakh market and that no trader will deposit the check to cash it at the bank before it is warranted. However, what really happened? What happened was that there was a liquidity crunch and some speculators needed money and could not raise it from the banks. So they (only a handful at the outset) began to deposit the checks they held, cashing them before they fell due. They consequently endangered the account of the person with whom they had contracted and he in turn was forced to deposit his checks to cover his accounts. So on went the vicious circle, "trust" evaporated and everyone rushed to save his own hide. However, the result was the collapse of prices with everyone falling into the trap of huge losses which many could not stand or absorb.

To sum up, the al-Manakh market is in fact a "crisis of climate," [a play on words, as manakh means climate] a legal, economic and organizational climate and Kuwait, as a Kuwaiti investor stated in an eloquent article about

the market crisis, is no different from other countries and is no longer merely a small court in which banking and financial matters are settled by tribal means but rather is now a major market in which trading must be done on the basis of stable principles and regulations which will protect everyone and, above all else, will protect the reputation of the market and social stability in the country which can be affected if things are given free rein and a handful of speculators are given total freedom to fiddle with the savings and the fruits of the labor of the people.

8389

CSO: 4404/31

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE STOCK MARKET CRISIS

Travel Ban Unconstitutional

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 36, 25 Oct 82 p 6

[Text]

Efforts by the Kuwaiti government to unravel the crisis affecting the markets for securities ran into trouble last week when the National Assembly declared that a ban on leaving the country imposed on a parliamentarian was unconstitutional. Assemblyman H'mood al-Jabri was one of eight investors who had earlier been forbidden to leave Kuwait by a five-member adjudication board set up to deal with the after-effects of multi-billion dollar losses incurred mainly on the unofficial Souk al-Manakh over-the-counter market for shares. The National Assembly ruled that the board's actions, which also froze Mr. Jabri's assets, violated constitutional guarantees for the immunity of its members from arrest, apprehension or search.

Members told the Assembly that the parliament ought to have been informed before any action was taken to restrict Mr. Jabri's freedom. Some assemblymen added, however, that they were not seeking to defend what he may or may not have done.

Moves by the government to delineate and contain the crisis have been dogged by difficulties and the Assembly postponed approval of an Amin decree issued by the authorities last month pending its examination by a parliamentary committee. The decree ordered the registration within 30 days of all post-dated cheques used in trading for shares and also suspended bankruptcy procedures in which share dealings were involved. Many assemblymen complained that the government's measures appeared to be designed to favour large investors at the expense of small traders; although this has been denied vigorously by ministers, the parliamentary committee is now expected to bring forward a compromise measure.

Just how large the crash is on the Souk al-Manakh is something the Kuwaiti authorities have been seeking to determine, with one estimate indicating that the face value of post-dated cheques used in trading could run as high

as KD 20 billion (\$ 70 billion). Actual losses are, however, expected to be very much smaller after a special clearing company set up to cope with the crisis has "netted out" credits and debits. Under the terms of the Amiri decree, the adjudication board would then expunge much of the premium written into the face value of the cheques which drawers had agreed to pay in order to obtain shares on credit. In some instances, the premium ran at 300 per cent of the price of the shares at the time of purchase, reflecting the gains investors on the Souk al-Manakh expected to make before the cheques matured. A collapse of the market began in July when price rises failed to come up to these expectations and some traders were unable to meet their obligations.

Kuwait's Finance Minister Abdul-Latif al-Hamad estimated early in the crisis that the net deficit could run to KD 2 billion (\$ 7 billion) and he insisted that the holders of dishonoured cheques would have to bear their losses. Drawers of cheques that could not be met could face up to five years in prison for breaking Kuwait's commercial laws. These stipulate that a cheque is a valid financial instrument regardless of the date written on it; post-dating has been an unofficial practice among traders for their own convenience but is not legally enforceable.

Although the government has stated adamantly that there will be no bailing out of investors in shares on the Souk al-Manakh, sources reaching Beirut last week from Kuwait said there was a widespread belief there that official steps will be taken to soften the impact of the crash. These sources said losses were now expected to net out at about KD 1 billion (\$ 3.5 billion) and that credit was likely to be extended to help investors stave off bankruptcy. The government had already promised that help would be forthcoming to financial institutions hurt indirectly by their clients' losses in the securities markets.

Cabinet Rescue Plan

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 37, 1 Nov 82 pp 4-5

[Text]

The Kuwaiti cabinet last week performed an abrupt 180° turn last week by launching a fund to rescue investors who faced ruin following the multi-billion-dollar collapse of share prices on the unofficial Souk al-Manakh over-the-counter stock exchange. Approval of the rescue fund was announced after an eight-hour marathon meeting of ministers and followed the disclosure that the nominal value of post-dated cheques used in share dealings totalled a whopping KD 26 billion (\$91 billion). Earlier, ministers had insisted that holders of dishonoured cheques would have to bear their losses and would not be bailed out by the government, as happened in the past when share prices slumped.

The cabinet was clearly stung by charges, which it denied, from members of the National Assembly that the government's measures to delimit and control the crisis favoured large investors rather than small ones. A draft law published last week set the size of the proposed fund at KD 500 million (\$1.7 billion) and put a ceiling of KD 2 million (\$6.8 million) on the amount which an individual investor can receive from the government in the form of bonds; transactions involving up to KD 100,000 will be paid in cash immediately after a five-member adjudication board has ruled on the deal. The fund will be attached to the Finance Ministry and money for it will be drawn from the state's reserves, according to the draft, which is being submitted to the National Assembly

for approval. The fund will act when those who have signed cheques have been declared bankrupt and the government will then attempt to recover the money from the debtor. Another provision of the proposed law would make investors who refused to repatriate assets from abroad to pay their debts liable to a prison term of up to five years.

The \$91 billion figure exceeded by some \$20 billion earlier informed estimates of the size of the mountain of post-dated cheques used in share dealings. The amount outstanding when all cheques have been "netted out" to cancel out deals in which an investor was a creditor against those in which he was a debtor is expected to be very much smaller. It seems certain, however, that the final figure will exceed by a considerable sum the KD 2 billion (\$6.8 billion) estimate made by Finance Minister Abdul-Latif al-Hamad in September when the government promulgated an Amiri decree ordering the registration of post-dated cheques used in share dealings and suspended bankruptcy proceedings for persons involved in trading

shares. One reason is that the cabinet decided that premiums added to the price of the shares when the deals were struck would remain in force unless the investors agreed to accept less. The government's original plan was to have the size of the premiums scaled down by the adjudication board. At the peak of the market in May, sellers of shares were commanding premiums of over 300 per cent of the price of the securities in return for granting credit by accepting post-dated payment.

Where an agreement is reached to reduce premiums, the board will use a complex formula based on the price of the shares at the time of the transaction and the recent price, *Reuters* indicated in a dispatch from Kuwait. The report said that in addition to making cash payments to small investors, the rescue fund would pay creditors for sums exceeding KD 100,000 and up to KD 250,000 (\$855,000) in bonds maturing six months after the board's ruling; for sums up to KD 500,000 (\$1.7 million), payment will be in bonds maturing in June 1984; for sums up to KD 750,000 (\$2.6 million) in bonds maturing on December 31, 1985; for sums up to KD 1 million (\$3.4 million) in bonds maturing in June 1987.

The government's decision to rescue traders on the Souk al-Manakh was taken as the result of considerable political pressure in the National Assembly, which deferred approval of the Amiri decree issued in September while a legislative committee sought alternative proposals. Earlier, assemblymen complained that an order forbidding one of the legislature's members from leaving Kuwait or of disposing of his assets was unconstitutional because it violated parliamentary immunities. Seven other Kuwaitis were also affected by the order from the adjudication board.

Another powerful argument favouring action to help investors came from the National Bank of Kuwait. A report published by the bank a few days before the cabinet meeting spoke of a steep fall in prices owing to economic stagnation in Kuwait during the past three months since the market crashed. Construction has been hit especially hard and car dealers have been offering large discounts to encourage sales, according to reports from Kuwait. The impact of the crash is all the more evident because, as the bank's report stresses, the underlying economic foundations of Kuwait are sound and the country's financial reserves and investments are more than enough to enable Kuwait to ride out its current difficulties. Indeed, in view of the huge sums involved, the most remarkable aspect of the crisis has been the total absence of panic.

The rescue fund marks a severe setback for those in authority in Kuwait who saw the crash of the Souk al-

Manakh as a salutary lesson to those who believed riches can be conjured from thin air and who did not seem to realise that speculative markets have their down sides as well as rising prices. And while this newsletter predicted in its issue of October 26 that some form of baling out operation was in the offing, we commiserate with these financial hard-liners. Many of the shares traded on the Souk al-Manakh were for Gulf companies which existed only on paper and earlier efforts to halt dealings in them had proved vain.

Although many of the Gulf companies were set up with Kuwaiti money by Kuwaitis who were able to circumvent the strict requirements for a listing on Kuwait's official Stock Exchange by registering their firms outside the country, the fundamental problems revealed by the deflation of the Souk al-Manakh bubble exceed by far the capabilities of the Kuwaiti authorities, however vigilant and determined they may be. These problems are the lack of viable investment opportunities for private funds in the Gulf region and a diversity of controls on company registration in different Gulf countries which permits the creation of financial securities of highly dubious value to which these surplus private funds have been attracted. What happened in Kuwait cries out for concerted action by the Gulf Cooperation Council in the most compelling way.

CSO: 4400/87

LEBANON

QULAYLAT DISCUSSES ISRAELI INVASION, U.S. PLAN

NC151005 (Clandestine) Voice of Arab Lebanon in Arabic to Lebanon 0530 GMT
15 Nov 82

[Interview with Ibrahim Qulaylat, leader of the independent Nasirite Movement--al-Murabitun, on 14 November with "Press News Agency"; place not specified--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Question: In light of President Amin al-Jumayyil's tours, how do you view the government's basic lines?

Answer: President Amin al-Jumayyil's tours have carried the features of the basic principles for a comprehensive solution. I say features of the principles and not a plan for the implementation of these principles. The government must not discount the effort required for crystallizing the plan for a comprehensive solution and the importance of the participation of the friendly Soviet Union, because international support cannot be one-sided but must polarize all the active and effective international forces.

Question: Walid Junblatt has announced the suspension of the national movement's activities in a bid to reassess and reorganize the joint national struggle. What are your views on the future of the joint Lebanese national struggle?

Answer: Brother Walid Junblatt's announcement was the result of constant and protracted consultations which began at the beginning of June--that is, at the outset of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon--to arrive at visualizations that will enable us to promote our joint struggle to a more effective and capable level and to find a new formula for the basis of national action. In our movement's view, the formula that existed before 4 June has collapsed, because it could not confront the burdens of the fateful phase Lebanon has gone through in both political and military confrontation. However, this does not mean that the national struggle and its achievements have collapsed or that the suspension of the activities of the national movement cancels the joint bilateral or tripartite alliances, especially between us and the progressive Socialist Party and the national ideological, progressive and democratic parties and organizations.

Question: In light of the continued Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the emergence of new political and security developments and in light of the new developments that have accompanied the new regime in Lebanon, what, in your estimation, is the motto of the coming phase?

Answer: The past phase, which began with the 4 June war, was replete with events and developments. The U.S. administration's political plan was the basis of the decision for Israel to enter and invade Lebanon as well as for the continuing effects of this invasion and occupation. That phase also witnessed the departure of the Palestinian armed forces, the conspiracy of disarming the nationalist and progressive forces and the emergence of a quase-consensus that accompanied the election of a new president for Lebanon.

These three dimensions, which I have presented as three new developments, have accompanied the emergence of the new regime. In our movement's estimation, the dossier of the conspiracy of the 4 June war is still open both with regard to the Lebanese national cause and with all the Middle East issues, particularly the Palestinian issue. We and the world are fully aware that the continued U.S. political invasion and its reliance on the Israeli occupation military machine have not yet achieved the required aims and results.

We are in a phase of political and democratic struggle to confront and prevent the mentality and plan to impose the victor-and-vanquished formula as we build the foundations of a modern, democratic and national state. The continued Israeli invasion and the U.S. political and economic domination have had negative effects on the Lebanese and Palestinian issues. The coming phase will witness more negative effects, because the U.S. plan has not yet achieved all its aims, despite the fact that the conspiracy of the age, which observers have termed the fifth war, has succeeded in fragmenting the Palestinian existence as a people, as a geographic entity and as an armed force, with a view to dispersing the Palestinians politically in order to prevent them from establishing their independent state on their national soil.

CSO: 4400/80

LEBANON

AL-AS'AD ON ISRAEL'S 'SCHEMES,' HABIB RETURN

NC171838 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Speaker Kamil al-As'ad this afternoon received 'Ali al-Sabbah, president of the World Lebanese Cultural Union, who was accompanied by former union president Anwar al-Khalil, secretary general Rashad Salamah and union member 'Atiyah 'Atwah.

After the meeting, speaker al-As'ad said:

[begin recording] [Question indistinct]

[Answer] Of course, I mean that Israel has not changed its plan. Naturally, the friendly states have given us guarantees on the withdrawal of the foreign forces and on the ending of the crisis, be it in Lebanon or in the area. However, Israel has not changed its scheme aimed at creating states based on religious sectarianism in the Arab world--beginning with Lebanon--to foment sectarian intrigue in it. This is nothing new.

When it comes to remedial techniques, we first hope that, as we have already said, the people's vigilance would guarantee checking this present conspiracy and intrigue. We also hope that the regime will be able to entrench the bases for Lebanon's self-provided security throughout Lebanon within a comprehensive framework and within an overall plan in a manner far removed from a phased and programmed implementation.

[Question] Concerning Philip Habib's return, Mr Speaker, will he come here today?

[Answer] We consider Philip Habib's return a good sign. This is not because while Habib was absent no one could take his place. There can be no doubt that Ambassador Draper is of the same caliber as far as efficiency and powers are concerned. However, since Habib's absence has been interpreted as a possible dwindling or retraction of U.S. interest, Habib's return places things in their true perspective. [end recording]

CSO: 4400/80

KARAMI PRAISES AL-WAZZAN'S RESPONSIBILITY

NC141735 Ihdin Radio of Free and Unified Lebanon in Arabic to Lebanon 1530 GMT
14 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Prince Faruq abu al-Lam', the director general of the general security department, has visited the capital of the north [Tripoli] to learn the facts about the situation in the city in his capacity as the envoy of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan.

At noon today, [former] Prime Minister Rashid Karami made the following statement:

[begin recording] Prince Faruq abu al-Lam' came to Tripoli as the emissary of his excellency the prime minister to learn the facts about the situation in our city and the area. He also came to determine the causes of the complaint that has been raised about the authorities' negligence as far as (?majority of) the citizens, their security and all that is connected with their affairs are concerned.

We conveyed to Prince Abu al-Lam' the citizens' real feelings and the hope that we pin on amends being made for the past negligence and on support being extended to the procession toward well-being and unity as well as security and stability, which we desire to achieve for Lebanon in general. Verily, the strength of the area resides in the collaboration of its residents, and the strength of legitimacy lies in support being given by our people from all walks of life to the widening of the scope of legitimacy.

At this historic and serious juncture, particularly in view of the Israeli occupation, we find ourselves in dire need of such collaboration, vigilance and sincerity on the part of all citizens. Consequently, we also stand in need of an understanding of the true nature of this phase. We also need cooperation, solidarity and [word indistinct] so that we will be able to achieve the government's declared commitment to salvation and liberation. Therefore, we urge everyone to understand the given facts of the present circumstances and to act accordingly.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, what will happen now that you have called on the authority to take matters in its hands in Tripoli and this area?

[Answer] At any rate, it is impermissible to make comments on this visit beyond the announcements that we have made. The reason is that this visit is a kind gesture, denoting a new sensing of responsibility.

[Question] Thank you very much. [end recording]

NOTABLES INTERVIEWED ON FUTURE, RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Sep 82 Weekend Supplement pp 7-9

[Interview with Dr Charles Malik and Dr Raymond Malat by Roman Priester, date and place unspecified]

[Text] In his large library, on shelves crammed with the finest fruits of the tree of knowledge, a place of honor is reserved for the works of Aristotle, the Bible, the writings of the Rambam and a full set of the Encyclopedia Judaica. Dr Charles Malik, renowned man of letters and Christian statesman ranked among the top of Lebanese politicians, enjoys being called "the modern Aristotle." His spacious home, built of carefully carved stones which look like pieces of "Lego," is situated high above the crowded coastal plain, in the wealthy community of al-Rabiyah. When relaxing on his terrace or strolling through his garden, Dr Malik could spot, if he looked toward the sea, an American ship carrying helicopters which had dropped anchor outside the port of Beirut and left this week. From this vantage point he watched the evacuation of the terrorists. A combination of Aristotelian philosophy and the view of the warship lent a particular significance to the nick-name he so cherishes. And he is well aware of it because in his world, there is no room for coincidence.

The conversation with him was punctuated with pauses, as we spoke about the war. Malik sat in a simple, unupholstered chair, with the book of books on his lap. He is a tall man, with Greek features and a white mane. His bespectacled wife, formerly a literature teacher, listens attentively to his words. A dark-skinned servant serves coffee. "I read eight chapters of the Bible every day," says Malik. "And I live by the words of Zacharia who said: "Not with armies or force, but with my spirit." Nonetheless, he quickly adds that power cannot be discounted: "The decisive question is, of course, the source of power and for what purpose it is used."

This modern Aristotle, once a professor of philosophy, also served as minister of foreign affairs under Camille Sham'un. Now his views have--by virtue of political logic--led him to the small circle of Lebanese figures who comprise the brain-trust of the Phalange, the party of president-elect Jumayyil. When we lay before him the latest issue of the HA'ARETZ supplement which contains an article on and photographs of Jumayyil, Malik and his wife also spot their son, Habib, in a picture of the Lebanese strong man's close associates. "Our

son has recently returned to Harvard, to complete his doctorate," Mrs Malik notes. In the early thirties, the senior Malik attended Harvard, too. As the son of a village doctor with limited means, he had saved for 3 years to realize his life's dream and study philosophy under the eminent professor Alfred North Whitehead, the father of modern science. (It is interesting to note that Aristotle was also the son of a doctor--a doctor in the court of Amyntas III, king of Macedonia). Since then, a lot of water has passed under the bridge. Dr Malik emerged from anonymity, first as Lebanon's representative to the United Nations conference in San Francisco and his country's ambassador to Washington, later as chairman of the UN's 13th general assembly. Last year he was teaching at the Catholic University in Washington. Now he spends his time in al-Rabiyah.

Dr Malik believes that one of Jumayyil's first steps upon entering the palace was to be the establishment of an army worthy of its name, because "without that, Lebanon will not be able to survive as an independent nation. His successor, too, will have to wield control over an army formed by integrating local militias from within the regular army. It is also reasonable to assume that the president will be the commander-in-chief," says Malik.

In the past they had an elite unit of phalangists, armed with Israeli weapons, who fought internal enemies only.

Dr Malik: "Most of the Muslim leaders are, in my eyes, like a fallow field. Bashir Jumayyil has the image of a fighter, but those close to him know that he was a man of great political wisdom." Before he knew about Jumayyil's death, Malik said that: "His biggest test will be doing justice to all the social elements in the Lebanese society, even those which opposed him in the past. I believe he can stand up to the test. In the past he was attacked for being a Christian, and he waged war as a Christian. But the war is over--and now he is the president of all the Lebanese people."

The attack on Jumayyil's life on Tuesday of this week, sheds some doubt on Malik's statement and the consensus Jumayyil was to have established.

A Source of Strength, A Source of Weakness

Charles Malik excels in the art of giving direct answers to well-defined questions. He is a veteran politician who knows the danger of excessive talk. When the conversation flowed into the realm of the future relations between his country and the State of Israel, Dr Malik again took refuge in the Bible, quoting the passage from Ecclesiastes: "For everything there is a season and a time for every purpose under heaven--a time to love, a time to hate; a time for war and a time for peace; a time to speak, a time to be still..."

"Now is the time to be still," he said. "What good would come out of open talks now? You are pushing for a peace agreement and I say: patience, patience. Perhaps you believe that the State of Israel is a political phenomenon and that through the strength of its armed forces, all problems can be solved. But the situation is far deeper and its roots are planted in your history. Your

superiority, which is so well demonstrated in the Israeli airforce and armored corps, is based on your faith and tradition and spiritual values, which allowed the Jewish people to survive despite 2,000 years of exile. The Jewish culture--which at least for the Western world means the ancient covenant--is the source of your salvation. The Jew to us is a man like the Rambam or Spinoza, Markus Weinstein, Disraeli, Rothschild and hundreds of thousands of scientists, artists and statesmen who enriched Western civilization. These are all sources of your strength, and if stop listening to your people and to humanity in general, and turn to new spiritual values--you will not have a foundation in the future for your military strength. Even the most modern army cannot survive spiritual emptiness."

Malik speaks softly, but his words carry the sound of a prophetic warning. Perhaps his noble stature and the Bible open on his knees create a mystical atmosphere in the room. Before the subject was closed, our host asked if he had forgotten the Rambam in his list of prominent Jews: "Maimonides is very important to me; I read him with great pleasure." It is safe to assume that this is no coincidence either. The Rambam was active in circles which discussed Aristotelian philosophy and interpreted Aristotle from a Jewish perspective, as had Yitzhak Ben Shlomo Israeli and Eben Gvirol before him--Avraham Ben David Metudela and Levi Gershon after him.

Dr Charles Malik is quite convinced that the superiority of the Judeo-Christian-Greco-Roman cultures over all others promises generations to come that Western civilization will continue to be superior to the Arab world. He explains: "The arrogant talk that the Arabs continue to indulge in, their avoidance of all things not Arab and the insularity of the Muslim society are the main sources of its weakness. A society that shuts itself off from the outside world can create nothing."

And the Chinese society, that surrounded itself with a wall? Did they not become powerful and establish a great society?

Malik: "When a Chinese intellectual comes to libraries and museums in Europe and America, he can learn more about his country than he can in Peking or Shanghai. But what can a European or American intellectual learn about his civilization in Chinese universities and museums? Nothing at all. Therein lies the gap between provincial societies like the Chinese and Arabic--and between universal societies. Just an open door and an ear open to this universality would guarantee the continued existence of Lebanon and its pluralistic society.

According to Malik, two conflicting fundamental premises clash in the Middle East: The Muslim premise which calls for isolation and the Lebanese premise (he is referring, of course, to Christian Lebanon) which is based on pluralism. "You have a pluralistic society, too, and there is no doubt in my heart that a pluralistic culture such as ours would find a common language with Israel. But the decisive question is, of course, will the Muslim world tolerate this rapprochement? I have discussed the matter with Muslim figures and was not always satisfied with their reactions. It is true that I have met those who

did not reject the idea from the outset. But what will tomorrow bring? What guarantee do we have that another Khomeyni or another Nasir will not appear? You say that you will protect us. But even you cannot be responsible for all your people or for all your leaders. And Lebanon's history does not end with the term of its current leaders. We need some assurance for our security today--but also for the future. You say that your military strength and your technological and social superiority allow you to set the stage in the Middle East. But it seems to me that sometimes you tend to forget that your superiority is measured against a backward Arab world. The logical conclusion is that your superiority will continue only as long as the Arabs do not catch up with Israel's development. To my mind it would be irresponsible to rely on an insurance policy whose validity is contingent upon the enemy's weakness."

In an interview which Dr Malik granted around 10 years ago to AL-NAHAR, Camille Sham'un's newspaper, he said among other things: "I fear the lack of a solid, responsible link between dictums and the truth in the Arab world; the way the masses are carried away by their leaders; the possibility that the common man, in the name of the heavens, would pull the chestnuts out of the fire; the terrible thought that the weak--intellectually and spiritually more than materially--can walk two tightropes and somehow save themselves; the belief that quantity in and of itself can make up for other deficiencies; that material things, in and of themselves--like oil--will decide our fate; the perpetual alienation from sources of light. These chronic realities confront us and must be examined candidly and critically."

"No Arab policy toward a solution to the Palestinian problem will be possible without confronting these realities. This confrontation is a seed of hope. From within the Arab dilemma will come peace, not only for the Arabs but for all peoples in this region. 'From within the darkness I see the dawn...' It has been said that America cannot abandon Israel, not because the Jews dictate policy to the White House, but because of the United States' global political interests."

We asked if there wasn't a contradiction between things he had said in the weekend supplement to HA'ARETZ and between the content of that interview from a decade past. And he replied: "I would still confirm today every word I said in 1973. My warnings and reservations apply to the future and not to the balance of power today."

Charles Malik sees a grievous fault in the "lack of a solid and responsible link between dictums and reality," a problem common to all Arab nations. But when he was president of the 13th UN general assembly he minced no words in his criticism of Israel's colonialistic goals--which at the same time he maintained an open network of relations with several Israeli representatives in New York. Apparently there was a blatant contradiction between what was in his heart and what he said. The Arabs suspected him, doubted his faithfulness to the pan-Arab union and tried to discredit him by publishing letters ostensibly exchanged between himself and Awa Eben. Dr Malik explained at the time that the letters were but crude forgeries. The Israeli press hinted that Nasir had a hand in the affair. But less than 2 years later, in May 1959, a new scandal broke out: Dr Malik, then president of the general assembly and Lebanon's

representative to the United Nations, made an official visit to the Israeli pavilion at the World's Fair in New York. The opposition called for his resignation; his colleagues in Cham'un's government, the Lebanese parliament, established an investigative committee. Malik claimed in his defense that he "had fallen victim to the Zionist deception." Whatever the truth may be, a NEW YORK TIMES photographer immortalized him raising a glass of champagne with Arie Manor of the Israeli consulate, and with the general consul, Simha Porat. We placed the "historic" photograph in front of him. Malik looked at it and smiled: "I look very young."

He is now 77 years old, a politician seasoned by diplomatic battles dipped in ink; a man who reached the top, but who is not willing to sit still. His youth is far behind him--the days when he was a child in his father's home, where "life was innocent and the air was pure." He finished school in 1927 and studied mathematics and physics at the American University in Beirut. Inspired by Professor Alfred North Whitehead's book, he turned to philosophy. Whitehead, one of the greatest thinkers in the U.S. and Great Britain in the 30's and 40's, once said of his student that he was "one of those uncommon people, surrounded by a super-human halo."

Charles Malik often meets Raymond Malat when the two sit at the "round table" with Jumayyil's staff, deciding courses of action for the Phalange and making suggestions to the president-elect. Malat is considered a sure candidate for the next minister of the treasury. Compared to Dr Malik, the profound philosopher of ideas, Dr Malat appears to be an extremely pragmatic figure. He has only recently returned to his villa situated north of the Beirut-Damascus road. "The Syrian soldiers just left my home," says Malat, describing the damage caused to walls and furniture. He is not worried about the money necessary for renovations. Yesterday they celebrated his father's 95th birthday and he says--the family is the essence. It is easy to believe him. Malat is president of a holding company called "Family Investment Fund," with 12 million Lebanese pounds (over 60 million shekel) in capital. Aside from the Fund, Dr Malat manages a chain of movie theaters and invests--with his brother Roger--in liquid assets, construction and financial institutions in Lebanon and the United States. He is 44 and is considered a genius in economic theory. In the introduction to his last book, covering Lebanon's tax policy, is a cartoon:

A man of wealth turns to the masses: Remember, we must all choose the golden path.

The people: What, for heaven's sake, is the golden path?

The wealthy man: It means that he who has gold leads the way.

There is no one who knows the power of wealth better than Raymond Malat, no one can explain the economic mysteries of Lebanon better than he: "People are always asking us how this miracle occurred, how despite 8 years of civil war our national economy did not collapse. The secret does not lie in the Lebanese genius but in the economic structure, 75 percent of which is based on services. Since we had no industry to speak of, there was no industry to destroy. Only our agriculture has been decimated and that was due to the fact that the Palestinians controlled the sources of water."

"When I speak about services, I am referring to banking and international brokerage in 3-way trade. That is our main specialty. When the big businessmen started to feel the pinch of the war, they locked their offices in Beirut and continued to conduct their business from branches in Saudi Arabia, Abu-Dhabi, Bahrain and Kuwait. And the money they made, for the most part, they deposited in the homeland. As surprising as it may seem, the wealthy Arabs and oil princes did not pull their money out of Lebanese banks. Even now, Lebanese banks hold around 36 billion Lebanese pounds. As the civil war battles grew more fierce, our banking system flourished all the more. It turns out that without capital you can't wage war. So it happened, somehow, that all the sides involved in the fighting had an equal need for the services of the financial institutions and they remained like sacred cows that could not be slaughtered. Even the PLO needed the banks through which their money flowed from Saudi Arabia--into 'Arafat's coffers. Another significant source of deposits came from the salaries which doctors, engineers and other professionals working in the oil rich countries continued to transfer to Lebanon. For this reason, we live in fear of an Arab embargo. Such an embargo would be imposed on us by the Arabs if we dare to sign a peace agreement with Israel. The Israeli leaders must understand that without Arab capital we cannot survive. With whom can we tie our service-oriented economy? With Israel's inflationary economy? Or perhaps with Egypt who has nothing?"

Well-informed sources claim that a significant portion of your gross national product is from the sale of hashish.

Dr Malat: There are no official statistics on the scope of the hashish business, and the estimates are usually exaggerated. We have three or four large land owners who grow hashish and due to the nature of things, their output is limited. It should also be added that drug abuse has never spread within Lebanon. Only during the war years did a small percentage of young fighting men turn to smoking hashish.

Like Charles Malik, Dr Raymond Malat also feels that the establishment of a strong army will be among the new president's first tasks. Where will the next president get the extensive funds required to implement such a plan?

"I don't perceive that as a problem that can't be solved. Although the government is in debt to the tune of 3 billion pounds, and only able to pay public employees out of the profits garnered through illegal speculations transacted by our own central bank, the financial sector is strong. Lebanese currency is stable and is covered five times over in the gold reserves.

Question: In order to use some of the money in the free market, Jumayyil will have to impose taxes and charge duty and service fees. That won't be a popular step in this country whose population has gotten used to living for years without paying duty and without income tax deductions.

Dr Malat: It is true that imposing taxes will not bring us popular support, but it appears that there will be no choice but to impose some burden on the people. The government will have to establish a policy of taxation. In my opinion, we need to impose taxes not only for the army, but also as a means of

correcting social injustices. I recognize the possibility that a strictly progressive income tax structure may fail in years to come, if the Lebanese people refuse to act in a responsible manner. The rate of tax evasion here is very high, probably 75 to 80 percent. And corruption among tax agents is also extremely wide-spread. Most people know that the bribes they pay account for a higher percentage of the agents' income than their government salaries. These things are openly accepted--out of a total disregard for social justice. The first step will be to inject the Lebanese society with a shot of morality, and to build up a trustworthy and fair staff of tax agents and government employees.

And another thing: An efficient, progressive income tax structure in Lebanon would undoubtedly mean the partial cancellation of the 1956 secrecy act as it applies to banks, at least insofar as taxes. Now, agents can hide their income in secret bank accounts, forge their books and show whatever income they please. It is clear from the start that as long as this policy is allowed to continue, a just system of taxation cannot be implemented. Despite blatant tax evasion, the parliament thus far has refused to cancel the bank secrecy act, using the excuse that this law encourages foreign investment.

Malat the economists does not object to more government intervention in the economy. He says that Lebanon today is a laissez-faire island in an ocean of economic planning and social development, including totalitarian regimes. A policy of liberalism--that is to say, a policy of reticence on the part of the government to interfere in the economy--served the country's interests during the peaceful years following World War II. This policy is no longer attractive given the new economic scene in the Arab Middle East and an autarkic policy which is harming Lebanon's economic well-being.

The governments of the free world today have moved from traditional liberal policies toward a policy of intervention in certain areas, in order to influence the rate of economic growth and development, says Malat, pointing out that his country should learn from "the example of the wise and great."

Dreams, Dreams

At the conference table he does not limit his comments to economic policies alone. As opposed to some of his Christian colleagues, Dr Malat claims that if a way is not found to bridge the gap separating Christians and Muslims in his country--there will be no Lebanon. "This bridge is largely contingent on the position of the Shiites and Sunis. Their communities must also be open to Western influence. I deeply regret that, in my eyes, the Lebanese Muslims of 1982 are in a situation like that of the Catholics in the days of Thomas Aquinas: Everyone who claimed that the earth was round was burned at the stake. I hope that increased educational opportunities will aid the rapprochement between these two major segments of the Lebanese society. Because without a common cultural base, it cannot work. The Muslims fear foreign influence.

That is why they are hostile toward the Israelis and toward the Christians. Only mutual recognition can break through existing walls. No signed piece of paper can help. Mr Begin signed a peace agreement with al-Sadat--and what happened? You have formal relations at the diplomatic level but no real rapprochement between the Israeli and Egyptian people. The Egyptian people, compared to you, still live in the Stone Age. As long as their level of education and culture does not improve, there is no chance for real rapprochement, not just words. That is how it is in Lebanon, too. Unless we can equalize the levels of the peoples and increase mutual interaction--which does not imply a loss of identity--I see no future for us as an independent nation."

"Therefore," Dr Malat emphasizes, "There should not be excessive intervention in the life of the individual or in matters of religion. Unfortunately, too many cooks have already spoiled the Lebanese pressure cooker, including the Israelis. I am very sensitive to the delicate interaction of relations woven between the Phalangists and Israel. You have supplied us with arms and equipment, but when you thought we had the upper hand, you turned the faucet off. Whenever you wanted, you stopped the supply boats heading for Sidon carrying weapons for the terrorists--and whenever you wanted, you allowed one or two boats to get through--so that the fire of the war would not be completely extinguished. Until we were so desperate that we showed a willingness to gratefully accept anything that could get us out of the mud--even to the point of allowing the IDF to enter our country. I am not criticizing. I am only stating the facts. I am a pragmatic man, which in itself is an anomaly in politics.

If that is the case, how do you see the future--without the Syrians and Israelis in Lebanon?

Raymond Malat: I see a Lebanon that will be neither Christian nor Muslim, one that will stand on the unity of all the segments of society.

Isn't that an optimistic dream that in the end will burst in the face of bitter reality?

Dr Malat: When Ben-Gurion dreamed of a Jewish state, no one believed his dream would come true. The outcome is history--and very encouraging. Except that Bashir Jumayyil's unexpected murder may be a brutal blow to a rose-colored dream.

9811

CSO: 4423/10

LEBANON

BRIEFS

DEATH SENTENCES--Informed circles have stated that the government has adopted the principle of considering crimes committed since 23 September as not being war crimes and that instructions have been given to the judicial quarters to inflict the most severe punishment on those who committed crimes since that date. The government is also prepared to carry out the death sentence when it is passed by the Lebanese judiciary. These circles added that scores of crimes, which were committed during the war, are not regarded as war crimes. [Text] [NC151258 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 15 Nov 82]

OIL, ELECTRICITY PRICES CUT--In view of the fact that electricity power is not sufficient now even for the inhabitants' basic needs and in order to prevent burning out of transformer stations, all of the inhabitants are asked to save electricity power and to use it only for the most basic needs, mainly for lighting. Electric workers too are asked to conduct searches of houses and remove any illegal connections to the public electricity network. The commanders of the police squads are asked to send police patrols to support the electric company employees in their missions. We also appeal to his eminence the president of the republic to do his utmost to reduce the prices of crude oil used for heating. It would be possible to cover the differences in the prices by the aid funds sent for the purpose of rebuilding Lebanon. This would be an appropriate use of these funds as most inhabitants do not benefit from these funds and only the privileged receive small portions of them while the aid in the reduction of the prices of crude oil will undoubtedly affect all the Lebanese households and will contribute to safeguarding what remains of the limited wealth which has almost totally perished. [Text] [TA160800 Marj 'Uyun Lebanese Voice of Hope in Arabic 0600 GMT 16 Nov 82]

SHELTER IN ISRAEL--Leader of the Phalangist [Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil] has said Major Sa'd Haddad [commander of "Free Lebanon"] was pushed to seek shelter in Israel when he felt fear for his own life and the lives of the inhabitants of his area, as a result of abnormal practices. [Excerpt] [NC171846 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic to Lebanon 1645 GMT 17 Nov 82]

CSO: 4400/80

COUNTRY'S OIL EXPORTS CONTINUE TO INCREASE IN 1982

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 2 Oct 82 p 4

[Article: "Sultanate's Oil Exports Increased to 58.5 Million Barrels in First Half of Current Year"]

[Text] The sultanate's crude oil exports in the first half of this year amounted to nearly 58.5 million barrels compared with 57.7 million barrels in the corresponding period of last year.

Thus, the sultanate's crude oil exports continue to rise even though the imports of the Western industrial countries have dropped by 20 percent. Last year, the sultanate was able to raise its crude oil exports to 120 million barrels compared with 102 million barrels in 1980. Japan absorbed nearly 50 percent of this amount and the West European countries acquired nearly 25 percent of Omani oil exports.

Oil production in the first half of this year rose to 60.1 million barrels compared with 58.5 million barrels in the first half of last year. Thus, production in all parts of the sultanate continues to rise, enhancing exports within the framework of the rising international demand for Omani oil.

At the same time, Omani oil prices continue to maintain their level, with the price amounting to \$34.3 in June 1982 while world oil prices have been dropping due to the increasing supply and the competition between sellers. According to last year's indicators, the oil sector's contributions to revenues rose by 20 percent over 1980, with the value of oil exports totaling 1.47 billion Omani riyals compared with 1.225 billion riyals in 1980. The credit for this increase goes to increased production and the stable prices of Omani oil.

The sultanate's increased oil production crowns the great efforts that are being exerted to increase investments and broaden the scope of oil prospecting and discovery. Last year, the oil companies' capital spending rose 32.8 percent over 1980.

This led to an increase in the volume produced and to an increase in exports of 22.6 percent over 1980.

Japan maintained first place among Omani oil export markets in the first half of this year, followed by West Europe and the United States.

It is worth noting that the sultanate's oil production has stabilized at an average of 330,000 barrels daily, an average daily production that helps meet the requirements of the development projects in the second 5-year plan.

8494

CSO: 4404/39

SOUTHERN PROVINCE ELECTRICITY SERVICES TO BE EXPANDED

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 23 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by 'Abdallah al-'Ulayyan: "Increased Electric Power for Southern Area; Raysut Plant To Be Inaugurated Shortly"]

[Text] Hasan Sa'id al-Marhun, director of the Southern Province Electricity Department, says that the Raysut power plant will be completed shortly. The cost of building this plant is nearly 6 million Omani riyals. Moreover, a million Omani riyals have been allocated to cover expansion of the distribution plant within the framework of the plan of the Ministry of Electricity and Water to increase the number of electricity plants to meet the essential requirements of the citizens in all parts of the sultanate. This is being done in response to the sublime instructions of His Exalted Majesty Sultan Qabus.

Answering a question on the distribution network in the towns of Taqah and Mirbat, al-Marhun said: "In the past, temporary plants were built to meet the area's needs, considering the area's remoteness from Sallalah. Those plants operated for 12 hours daily until 1979 when the ministry built new plants operating on a permanent basis. New generators had been imported at the beginning of 1978.

"A new plant is also being built to meet the needs of the town and of the popular housing area. This plant is about to be completed."

Answering a question on the number of plants in the city of Sallalah and other cities, the Electricity Department director said: "There are four electricity plants in the southern province, namely, the Sallalah plant with a capacity of 42.3 megawatts, the Taqah plant with a capacity of 1,500 kilowatts, the Mirbat plant with a capacity of 1,000 kilowatts and the Sadah plant with a capacity of 600 kilowatts."

Regarding future expansion, Hasan Sa'id al-Marhun said: "There are plans to present detailed and comprehensive studies on the coastal areas, the mountain towns and the highlands in the southern province to expand the electricity distribution network in this area as part of the ministry's plans in this regard and in view of the expected population growth in these areas. The study is still under discussion with the authorities concerned."

Answering a question on the number of electricity subscribers in the southern province, the director said: "So far, the number of subscribers is as follows: 10,852 subscribers in Sallalah and the surrounding villages, 639 subscribers in the town of Taqah, 539 subscribers in the town of Mirbat and 192 subscribers in the town of Sadah."

Hasan Sa'id al-Marhun added: "The truth is that the Electricity Department is facing some technical difficulties in the power distribution network because of the remoteness of these areas. At times, the difficulties are purely technical and are due to the rough terrain of the areas to which electricity is conveyed. The department offers the citizens all facilities when they apply for bringing electricity to their homes and is still giving them the necessary assistance in this respect."

On the number of Omani technicians working on this equipment, Hasan al-Marhun said: "There are Omani technicians operating this equipment with rare efficiency. They have excellent practical experience, considering that they were sent for training courses abroad. They are now working in the Sallalah electricity plant and in plants in other areas. I would not be exaggerating if I say that their technical experience is no less than that of the experts working for us on special contracts."

Regarding the department's plans to train Omanis on technical equipment, the director of the Southern Province Electricity Department said: "A plan has been drawn up to train Omani technicians. These courses are organized in two stages: The first for internal training courses in which the trainees are familiarized with the existing equipment so that they can gain general experience in this regard. Then courses are organized for them abroad to enable them to absorb all the technical aspects of their work so that they can do their work as effectively as possible."

Answering a question on the new premises of the Electricity Department, al-Marhun said: "The department's new building includes various administrative and technical sections, since the ministry had drawn up a new plan taking into consideration the expansion and making it possible to accommodate the department's various administrative and technical units. The cost of the new building is nearly 450,000 Omani riyals, and it will be opened in the near future, God willing."

On citizens' queries concerning electricity bills, al-Marhun said: "The truth is that no change has occurred in prices since the promulgation of the laws in force in this respect. But the problem is that some citizens delay the payment of their bills for a whole year and then get the idea that their bills have increased. This is wrong, of course. We beg the citizens to pay their bills monthly so that the accumulation of these bills does not impose a burden on them. The truth is that we face this problem constantly, and we hope that the citizens will cooperate with us in this regard so that they will not be inconvenienced on the payment of the accumulated bills."

8494

CSO: 4404/39

PLANS FOR LOCAL COPPER PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Article: "Copper To Be Produced Locally by End of Current Year; Geological Surveys Continue in Order To Determine Country's Mineral Resources"]

[Text] His Excellency Sa'id Ahmad Sa'id al-Shanfari, minister of petroleum and minerals, yesterday morning returned to the capital from his inspection tour during which he visited the copper project in Sahhar and heard from project officials and the management of the Oman Mining Company on the progress of work in the mines and in the copper melting and refining plant.

His excellency also visited the project's housing town, called Majjan. His excellency then proceeded to Musandam where he visited the offshore rig in the concession area there. He also inspected activity in the area's oil fields.

During this inspection tour, his excellency was accompanied by Salim Muhammad Sha'ban, ministry undersecretary, and a number of the ministry's prominent officials.

It is worth noting that the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals continues its efforts to implement a number of mining projects, including the Sahhar copper project on which work was started in 1979 and which is expected to be completed at the end of this year within the framework of the current 5-year plan. The project's production capacity amounts to 20,000 tons annually.

Numerous geological surveys were conducted during the first 5-year plan in the search for minerals. The surveys covered limited areas in North Oman and Masirah Island.

The surveys were conducted within the framework of a technical cooperation program with a number of foreign universities and scientific research centers.

The goals and policies of the present 5-year plan for the mining sector are summed up in the emphasis on completing the detailed geological surveys necessary to determine the country's mineral resources, on completing the copper mining project, on encouraging the private sector to set up the

industries to utilize the copper that will be produced by the project and increase its activity in quarrying, especially in the production of marble, on developing international companies' interests in prospecting for minerals in the country and on bolstering the technical apparatus of the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals with laboratories and with the advisory technical expertise needed in the mining sector.

The Sahhar copper mining, smelting and concentration project is foremost among the projects vital for the oil sector [as published]. This is in addition to the project for copper prospecting in other areas to increase copper ore reserves for the copper project and the project for a geological survey in Sallalah and the southern area. This project calls for drawing up maps by artificial satellites and a land survey and then combining and analyzing these surveys. There is, moreover, a project for a geological survey in North Oman, with photographs similar to the southern area project and geophysical surveys of the North Oman mountains, along with photographs, and of Sallalah and the Hafit Mountain area where magnetic measurement and measurements of the degree of radiation, of metal concentration and of electric conductivity will be carried out. A geological laboratory will be also set up in the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals.

It is worth noting that a contract was concluded in 1973 between the government, the Marshal Prospecting Company of Oman and the (Prospecting) Company licensing the two companies to prospect for minerals in North Oman and to mine and market whatever minerals are discovered. The government participated with a 21-percent share in this agreement. This share rose to 51 percent in January 1974 and then to 75 percent in 1978. The government subsequently purchased the remaining shares of the partners in April 1980, thus gaining full ownership of the project. Consequently, sultan's decree No 11 of 1981 was issued establishing a limited-liability company under the name of the Oman Limited Liability Mining Company to which revert all the concession rights and obligations emanating from the mining agreements concluded between the sultanate and the two foreign firms.

From the outset, this project has focused its efforts on copper prospecting in the area close to the town of Sahhar. Historical evidence indicates that Oman produced copper from that area in ancient times. Copper ore has actually been found in the areas of al-Baydah, al-Asil and al-'Arjah near Sahhar.

When the volume of the proven deposits reached 13 million tons, it was decided to begin implementing the project, considering that this volume represents the minimum needed for implementing the project economically. It was also decided to continue prospecting for additional reserves of this raw material. The initial evidence actually indicates the presence of such reserves in the same area.

The copper content in the copper ore amounts to nearly 2.1 percent. Therefore, it is planned to mine nearly 1 million tons of the ore annually to produce 20,000 tons of copper that is 99.8 percent pure.

It is estimated that the cost of this project will be nearly \$150 million. Relatively small quantities of chromium were discovered in the area and the possibility of utilizing them is still under study. In addition to copper and chromium, the geological surveys indicate the presence of a large number of other metals, such as iron, manganese and nickel. However, no large-scale drilling for these metals has been done to affirm the quantitative and qualitative feasibility for their commercial utilization.

Regarding quarries, it is proven that there are large quantities of calcareous rock fit for use in the production of cement, gypsum, asbestos and marble.

8494

CSO: 4404/39

CIVIL SERVANT JOB CHANGES ARE PROPOSED

Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 10 Oct 82 p 2

[Text]

RIYADH, Oct. 9 — Working hours of government workers could increase, along with salaries, if fundamental changes proposed here during a seminar are approved according to Muhammad Abdullah Al-Sharif, assistant secretary general of the Control Board. He told *Al-Madinah* Saturday that a number of factors must be taken into consideration including winter time and summer time.

Sharif said that working hours will be increased and timing changed to avoid civil servants engaging in secondly job activities. The proposed system provides for a five-day working week. Civil servants will work for eight hours as of 8 a.m., with a rest from noon to 1 p.m. for prayers and a light meal. However, a different schedule will be observed during Ramadan (the month of fasting) and the three months that represent the peak summer period. At that period, officials will work uninterrupted for six hours, from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. If Ramadan falls in winter, then office work would start at 9 a.m. instead of 7 a.m.

The official said that the new time schedule will make it very difficult for certain civil servants who were in the habit of engaging in commercial activities that have nothing to do with their functions to pursue such activities. If they did so in the past, it is because they had

a lot of free time after 2.30 p.m., besides the time from regular working hours. Those who will decide to quit their function in favor of their private business are not worth keeping in the civil service anyway, he pointed out.

Moreover, overtime will be considerably curtailed, as it was found harmful than anything else. It will be replaced by a proper shift system, which will also make it possible to rely more and more on national manpower rather than alien contractees. Some of the disadvantage of overtime are that the official delays some work on purpose to give a justification for coming back in the afternoon or at night and earn extra money, which can only reduce production levels.

Persons working on overtime usually do not strictly observe the overtime working hours. Some even don't show up at all. Overtime also created friction and bitterness in some cases, as some persons consider it an advantage to work in a particular division or another one because their colleagues there are given a chance to work overtime. Selection is always contested by other officials who immediately think in terms of favors. It was also found that if a person managed to be summoned for overtime work on Thursday and Friday for an average ten hours, for instance, such a person would earn an extra money equivalent to half the monthly salary.

CSO: 4400/75

BRIEFS

EASTERN PROVINCE SERVICES IMPROVED--Dammam, Oct 8 (SPA)--The SR400 million second phase of a sewage project in the Eastern Province will be commissioned soon according to the area's municipal and rural affairs director, Abdul Rahman Al-Shuhayyel. At present, Dammam's sewage network is being expanded and the SR920 million system will be handed over soon, he added. Shuhayyel said that King Fahd had set up an eight-member ministerial committee to follow up the implementation of Eastern Province projects by meeting periodically. The committee, in turn, established a sub-committee for closer supervision. The latter standing committee is presided over by Eastern Province Governor Prince Abdul Mohsen ibn Jiluwi. The committee submits its progress reports to the King. The officials said that a large number of major projects was implemented in the area during the past three years. Some are under implementation and others are being studied. All Eastern Province and Ahsa cities have had their shares of asphaltting and sidewalk construction projects and many water, sewage and storm water drainage projects were implemented in Dammam, Alkhobar, Qatif, Jubail, Abqiq and Ahsa. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 9 Oct 82 p 2]

PROJECT TO SPEED RAIL TRAFFIC--Jeddah, Oct 10--Construction of a new railway line between Dammam and Riyadh began 18 months ago and will cut the distance between the two cities to 470 kilometers. It will also enable trains to run at a speed of 150 km/h, which is much faster than the present one. Al-Madinah reported that the Railway Organization has a very ambitious plan under the Kingdom's Third Five-Year Development Plan. The new line will run parallel to the old one from Dammam to Hofuf, then separate from it by taking a western direction and running alongside the asphalted road to Riyadh in some places. The ambitious project will cost a total of SR1.2 billion. Another railroad will run from Jubail to Dammam. The 80 kilometer line has been studied. New stations will be set up in Dammam, Hofuf and Riyadh and a feasibility study will be conducted to lay down a line from the Western Province to other areas. The organization, set up 31 years ago, has 19 1,000 HP locomotives; nine 1,500 HP locomotives; and 10 2,000 HP locomotives. It also has 31 passenger cars, including a royal car; two 63 passenger luxury class cars; two 63 passenger first class cars; two 60 passenger second class cars and six 108 passenger third class cars. Four passenger locomotives are operated every day, two from Dammam to Riyadh and the rest from Riyadh to Dammam. All four carry 800 to 1,200 passengers. Four other cargo locomotives are operated the same way. Each one carries

some 3,000 to 4,000 tons a day. The present main railroad in Saudi Arabia from Dammam to Riyadh measures 562 kilometers, in addition to 17 kilometers inside Dammam Port. It has other ramifications totaling 140 kilometers, linking the main road to the Saudi Fertilizers Company in Dammam; the Irrigation and Drainage Project and the cement plant in Ahsa; Petromin's fuel oil loading terminal in Dhahran, Petromin's center in Riyadh and the cement plant in the capital. The line has a 1,435 millimeter width according to international standards. Work on the first railroad in Saudi Arabia began in October 1947, only meters from the waters of the Arabian Gulf in the east, in Dammam. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 11 Oct 82 p 3]

LOANS TO EASTERN PROVINCE FARMERS--Ahsa, Oct 12 (SPA)--SR26 million was granted by the Eastern Province's Agricultural Bank last month in loans to farmers and poultry and dairy farm owners. According to Abdul Aziz Al-Uwaifer, acting director of the Hofuf branch, the 126 loans including financing a poultry farm which will produce 191,000 chickens per annum and a dairy farm with a productive capacity of 500,000 liters of milk annually. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 13 Oct 82 p 3]

RIYADH POLICE SIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING PACT--Riyadh, Oct 14--The British Council has signed a contract with the Riyadh police for a language training program that will provide 96,000 hours of instruction over the next eight months. Some 200 policemen who are to be assigned to the Riyadh Diplomatic Quarter will receive basic training in English under the SR2 million contract. Seven special language instructors from Britain are being brought in for the purpose. The contract was signed on behalf of the Riyadh police by Gen Muhammad ibn Al-Aish, director-general of Riyadh police, and Malcolm Dexter, representative of the British Council. Giving details of the training program, English Language officer Graham Graves told Arab News that trainees will be taught in two sections of 100 each. The classes will be held three times a week during which there will be an audio-visual program supported by specially developed material. "These men are near beginners in English. So we will have to bring them up to the intermediate level to help them develop skills specific to their work in the diplomatic compound," Graves said. This is the third contract to be signed by the British Council which has started moving into industrial training. The other two contracts call for servicing the English language needs of employees of the Jeddah and Riyadh oil refineries. "We are also negotiating with clients where the contract provides for combining English teaching with the basic technical course," Graves said. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 15 Oct 82 p 2]

WATER CONTRACTS AWARDED--Riyadh, Oct 15 (SPA)--Two major contracts valued at SR212.5 million were signed this week by Minister of Agriculture and Water Dr Abdul Rahman Al-Sheikh. A SR134,417,746 contract for the construction of the second phase of Al-Khafji's desalination plant was signed with a specialized international firm and will be implemented within 28 months. The plant production capacity is estimated at five million gallons a day. Its generation of electric power will cover the requirements of the plant itself and the area's residents. The plant comprises two desalting units and two steam and power generators. The contract also calls for the

construction of a residential compound. A SR78,128,075 contract was signed for a national company to lay the necessary pipes for the Qaysouma and Hafr-el-Baten water project. The contract provides for the laying of main pipes from the wells to Hafr-el-Baten over 68,000 meter distance. The pipes will have various diameters varying between 300 and 900 millimeters and 71 valve rooms. It also calls for the laying of other main and secondary pipes of 80-600 millimeters and made of asbestos and plastic over a 260,000 meter distance within Hafr-el-Baten and Qaysouma. Connections to the area's 9,000 houses will be established and 250 fire extinguishers will be secured under the contract along with 80 drinking units. The contract also calls for the establishment of 350 valve rooms. In other news, the Western Province Water and Sewage Department has formed two special teams for the pumping of sewage waters from Jeddah. The teams are being looked over by the department's maintenance division. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 16 Oct 82 p 2]

CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING PROGRAM ORGANIZED--Riyadh, Oct 25 (SPA)--The Public Security's Criminal Evidence Institute will organize training courses for personal and finger print investigation and crime photography. The courses, for which intermediate school certificate applicant holders have been invited, will begin Feb 27, 1983. Lt Gen Yahya Al-Mualimi, assistant public security director general for operations, said Monday the two courses provide fine technical specializations in fields of work considered new in Saudi Arabia. "The objective behind these courses is to prepare skilled Saudi Arabian youth in all technical aspects of criminal work so that self-sufficiency is achieved," Mualimi said. "Graduates of the two courses will be pioneers in their field of specialization here," Mualimi added. Talented and efficient trainees will be sent abroad to continue studies in some of the world's best institutions on operation of the latest scientific equipment, he said. Trainees will graduate as assistant sergeants at the operations department with a salary of SR4,894. During the training period, the students will be provided with free board, medical treatment, clothes and a monthly incentive of SR750, Mualimi said. Meanwhile, a group of secondary and intermediate school graduates will be sent to the United States for training on flying and maintaining helicopters operating in the Civil Defense Department. Secondary school certificate holders will study helicopters operation during a two-year course in the United States and one year in the Kingdom. They will graduate as lieutenants. Intermediate school certificate holders will train for two years on operating and maintaining the helicopters. They will graduate as assistant technical sergeants. All trainees will be given \$767 monthly in addition to other incentives. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 26 Oct 82 p 3]

FAHD STRESSES ECONOMIC INTEGRATION--Taif, Oct 26 (SPA)--The importance of organizing and integrating the economy of the Arab world and coordinating its industrial development was emphasized in a message from King Fahd during the opening of the third annual session here of the Council of the Arab Organization for Industrial Development which began here Tuesday. King Fahd's address was read out at Tuesday's opening session by Industry and Electricity Minister Dr Ghazi Algosaibi. The council includes industry ministers from the Arab League states. In his address, King Fahd welcomed

the participants to their "second home," Saudi Arabia, and urged the Arabs to "stand side by side to face challenges and enemies." King Fahd said "if political unity is an urgent demand, unity is also required in the economic and industrial sectors in particular." "Moreover, the Arab world will not succeed in establishing a sound economy and industry unless it is able to get rid of disorganized planning and achieve integration," he added. The King also said "we, in Saudi Arabia, have covered big strides in the field of industry. But we feel that our achievements will remain incomplete unless we see a comprehensive industrial development in the Islamic and Arab world." Addressing the opening session, Bahraini Industry and Development Minister Yousuf Shirawi, who chaired the council's previous session, stressed the importance of the meeting and hoped it would culminate in "more positive accomplishments for the Arab world's industrial development." [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 27 Oct 82 p 2]

EAST PROVINCE HEALTH PROJECTS--Dammam, Oct 26 (SPA)--The Health Ministry is currently engaged in carrying out SR53.7 million projects in the Eastern Province and Ahsa Region. Eastern Province Health Director General Dr Seifuddin Al-Shakli said Tuesday the projects include new premises for the health directorate for which a SR9.9 million contract was awarded to a national company. Other projects comprise a nurses housing program in Safwa, an out-patient clinic building for Hofuf hospital, expanding the psychiatric hospital in Ahsa to accommodate 100 beds and other supplements in various towns and villages. Dr Shakli said a number of projects also commissioned recently and sites are to be handed over to executing companies. Among these are the expansion of Dammam's central hospital with 100 additional beds and housing units for doctors and nurses; building a central warehouse for Azquijan area in Hofuf; renovating a clinic and building warehouses in Safaniah; constructing freezers for Qatif and Safwa hospitals and a physiotherapy unit for Dammam hospital. A project for a residential building for doctors and another for nurses is to be commissioned soon for Dammam, Shakli added. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 27 Oct 82 p 3]

EAST PROVINCE ROAD PROJECTS INSPECTED--Dammam, Oct 27 (SPA)--Communications Undersecretary Dr Nasser Al-Salloum Wednesday inspected ministry projects under implementation in various parts of the Eastern Province. The minister was accompanied by a number of technical experts and ministry advisers. He was briefed on the progress of work on expressway and dual carriage way projects, as well as the expansion of the Eastern Province's road network. Dr Salloum visited the 17-kilometer long Dammam/Alkhobar dual carriage way with five flyovers; the 46 kilometer Azizia/Shari'e Nisf Al-Qamar road, being built at the cost SR120 million with six lanes and a 20-meter side island in the middle; and the improvement project of the 70 kilometer long Dhahran/Abqiq road; as well as the SR70 million, 19 kilometer Dammam/Sayhat/Onk road. He also inspected the transformation project of the Dammam/Dhahran road from a three-lane expressway to a dual carriage highway with several flyover bridges and ramps leading to side roads. The latter project will cost SR1,386,000,000. He also visited a number of expressways constructed recently to link Eastern Province cities with one another. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 28 Oct 82 p 2]

HOTEL RULES, REGULATIONS ISSUED--Riyadh, Oct 27 (SPA)--New regulations governing the rental of buildings operated as hotels have been issued by the Commerce Ministry Hotel Department. A statement from the Commerce Ministry indicates that if a tenant is forced out or leaves, permission from the Hotel Department is required in order to continue using the building as a hotel. Such permission is required whether the owner decides to continue using the building as a hotel or to lease it to a second party wishing to continue the operation. The department warned the owners against making changes or renovations to the buildings when empty. "An advance approval of the changes or renovations by the hotel department should be obtained," the statement said. These measures apply to hotels established before the issuance of the hotel regulation. [Text] [Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 28 Oct 82 p 3]

CSO: 4400/76

GASOLINE SUPPLIED TO GAS STATIONS IN KHARTOUM

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 8 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The warehouses of the petroleum product companies in al-Shajarah are delivering the stipulated daily quantities to the pumps in Khartoum.

Sa'id Muhammad Sa'id, director of storage for the Total Company, assured SUNA that daily distribution of petroleum products is taking place at the usual rate. For example, 22,000 gallons of regular benzine were dispensed to taxis and 9,680 gallons to private vehicles. He added that the company had increased quantities of super benzine from 3,000 to 5,000 gallons, as of last Sunday. The company also is distributing 16,000 gallons of gasoline a day to its stations.

He mentioned that the company had distributed 3,000 gallons of white gas last Sunday.

'Abd-al-Rahim Bakri, director of the Shell Company's warehouse in al-Shajarah, also assured SUNA that daily distribution has not been reduced. The company distributed 32,000 gallons of regular benzine for taxis, 30,000 for private vehicles, 5,000 gallons of super, and 26,000 gallons of gasoline to gas stations each day.

Ahmad Ibrahim, director of the Ajab Company's warehouse in al-Shajarah, said that the company is distributing 16,000 gallons of benzine and 10,750 gallons of gasoline.

Muhammad 'Uthman al-Faki, director of the Mobil Oil Company's warehouse in al-Shajarah, said the company's distribution of petroleum products is proceeding normally. It is distributing to its ten stations 18,500 gallons of regular benzine, 5,400 gallons of super to three stations, and 10,500 gallons of gasoline to seven stations.

From another aspect, SUNA has learned that the supply of petroleum products stored at al-Shajarah and at the Port Sudan refinery is very good. Supplies are adequate to cover the needs of the country for the near future. In addition, a shipment has been sent from abroad and is expected to arrive in 2 weeks. It includes 19,000 tons of gasoline, 18,000 tons of benzine, 23,000 tons of aviation gas, and kerosene to cover the departure of the pilgrims.

A responsible source in the General Petroleum Organization told SUNA that supplies in Port Sudan now amount to 9,088 tons of regular benzine, which will cover 15 days of consumers' needs; 871 tons of gasoline, which is adequate for 17 days; 2,291 tons of super, for 38 days; 8,148 tons of kerosene and aviation gas, which will cover 33 days; and 2,016 tons of kerosene, for 18 days.

The source added that there are 56,139 metric tons of crude oil in the refinery, which is enough for 16 days. In addition, a tanker will be leaving Ra's Tanurah in Saudi Arabia carrying 50,000 tons of crude oil. It is expected to arrive in 16 days. He mentioned that the refinery is now operating at a capacity of 2,800 tons of various products per day.

The source said that the quantities of petroleum products offered by the companies, with guidance from the General Petroleum Organization, are 82,000 gallons of benzine on normal days and 89,000 gallons on Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday to supply taxis on those days. This is in addition to the quota of 12,000 gallons of super offered daily. At the end of his statement, the source confirmed that consumption of petroleum products adds to the average daily volume of rail traffic, which subsequently affects the supply of those products.

From another aspect, Mustafa Nuri, chairman of the Petroleum Products Transportation Committee in the central region, told SUNA that the railroad is operating at the desired capacity for transport of petroleum products, as 34 empty tank cars were sent to Port Sudan yesterday to transport petroleum products. Trains have arrived in Khartoum carrying petroleum products; they include train number 54-1 which arrived at dawn yesterday with 17 tank cars filled with 350 tons of benzine, and train number 86 with 80 tons of benzine, 240 tons of aviation gas and 82 tons of diesel and furnace for the National Organization for Electricity. He added that he expects train number 54 to arrive today carrying 580 tons of benzine and 70 tons of furnace, as well as train number 86, carrying 462 tons of aviation gas. Train number 54 is now between the stations of Haya and 'Atbarah, carrying 440 tons of benzine, 18 tons of butane, and 168 tons of furnace for factories in Khartoum. There is now another train between Port Sudan and Haya carrying 450 tons of benzine and 300 tons of furnace for the National Organization for Electricity, as well as 74 tons of butane.

7587

CSO: 4504/19

SYRIA

ARABS WELCOME U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE

JN131701 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1215 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Station commentary]

[Text] At the invitation of U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin has arrived in the United States for talks on bilateral relations and the Middle East situation. Begin will also launch a fund-raising campaign. Such U.S. funds for Israel, which enjoy support, encouragement and tax-free facilities from the United States Government, in addition to official U.S. aid from American taxpayers, are the main support for Israel's economic and military development, its continued aggression and occupation policy and its challenge to the international community's charters, laws and norms.

Begin's visit to Washington was preceded by a visit by Yitzhaq Shamir, the Israeli foreign minister, at a time when U.S.-Israeli relations were said to have entered an embarrassing phase, with many policy differences. Shamir returned from Washington after his talks with Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz to announce that the United States and Israel have common objectives in the region.

After that visit, Israel took a rigid stand on contacts concerning the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territories. Israel also stepped up its demands that it be allowed to define the level of representation of the Lebanese side in the Lebanese-Israeli liaison committee charged with drawing up arrangements for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. Israel also escalated its criminal conspiracies to pressure and blackmail the Lebanese Government and to ruin its security programs and plans for achieving a national reconciliation. The criminal acts which took place in ash-Shuf and the mountains are only one aspect of this conspiracy.

Every observer of Middle East developments and U.S.-Israeli cooperation, which followed the signing of the strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel, recalls that any visit to Washington by a prominent Israeli official is usually followed by Israeli aggressive action, which is exploited to serve U.S. designs aimed at spreading complete U.S. hegemony over the Middle East and serving Israeli expansionist schemes in the region. The action includes the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

Proceeding from this principle, Begin's current visit to Washington calls on the Arabs, especially those opposed to subservience to the United States and Israeli hegemony, to be attentive, alert and vigilant. Despite the alleged differences over details, U.S.-Israeli relations are much stronger than the UN charter and resolutions and much stronger than the relations between the United States and some Arab countries.

U.S.-Israeli relations will make any Arab wagering on U.S.-Israeli differences a grave mistake. Any difference which might sometimes appear between Washington and Tel Aviv will not affect the essence of the organic relationship, alliance and common action between the United States and Israel. For this reason, the U.S. stand on the two main issues--a complete, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and Palestinian national rights, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state on their soil under the PLO--has never really changed.

The objectives of the United States and Israel in the region are identical, as Shamir has said. This might make Begin's visit to Washington negatively affect the course of developments in the region. It might also add the tension and danger in the region. Alertness and vigilance do not mean that the Arabs are turning away from the United States as such. The Arabs will welcome every real, sincere U.S. contribution to a just and lasting peace in the region. They will particularly welcome the United States if it joins the UN and the other states which aspire to peace and justice in working for the evacuation of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon and all the occupied Arab territories and for enabling the Palestinian Arab people to exercise their national rights, but the United States has never shown any evidence that it is dissatisfied with Israeli practices and policies. Therefore, words are not enough.

CSO: 4400/81

SYRIA

BRIEFS

HABIB, DRAPER TOUR--In its "With the Events" column, today's AL-BA'TH writes: U.S. envoy Philip Habib will return to the region on a new tour which will begin with Lebanon. Reports say that Philip Habib's new mission will focus on U.S. President Reagan's Middle East plan. As for the Israeli forces' withdrawal from Lebanon, the matter is left to Morris Draper, who is shuttling between Beirut and occupied Jerusalem in an attempt to draw up the withdrawal arrangements. Therefore, Habib will concentrate on political activities, whereas Draper will concentrate on military activities. Although these two matters are not much detached from one another, the two U.S. envoys conduct their negotiations from the de factor Israeli invasion of Lebanon and through the Zionist-U.S. military presence in Lebanon. They employ this card in all their moves, using it to pressure Lebanon to accept the Israeli conditions and to convince the Lebanese authority that Lebanon cannot exist on Arab relations only. The Israelis think that Habib's presence in the region will give new momentum to Draper's negotiations in the hope that the momentum may solve the suspended issues and eventually meet Israel's conditions, particularly with regard to the security agreement on which Sharon insists as a condition for the withdrawal of this forces from Lebanon. Israel also insists on the normalization of relations between Lebanon and Israel without necessarily concluding a peace treaty if Lebanon continues to reject such a treaty. [Text] [JN180809 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0445 GMT 18 Nov 82]

EMBASSY IN TEHRAN--The Syrian Embassy in Tehran issued a statement on the 13th anniversary of the uprising in Syria under the leadership of Hafiz al-Asad in which it described the country's progress in the economic and social fields. The statement denounced the conspiracies and intrigues of arrogance of international Zionism and reactionaries in the area and stressed the continuation of Syrian relations with the Palestinian revolution. Another part of the Syrian Embassy statement denounced the war of Saddam which has been imposed on the Islamic Republic of Iran. The statement said: This was announced against the interests of the Arab nation and against a revolution that has stood alongside the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. The statement added that Syria has always moved in the direction of ending Iraq's war against Iran, but the actions of the Saddamist regime and its collaboration with reactionaries and imperialism led to deadlocking these efforts. The statement of the Syrian Embassy in Tehran also noted that Syria hails the friendship and fraternal relations between Iran and the Arabs, and looks up to the achievements of the Islamic Revolution of Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni to ensure the comfort of the Iranian Muslim people, the area peoples and the oppressed in the world. [Text] [GF150845 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 15 Nov 82]

LEBANESE RESISTANCE TO ISRAELIS--Damascus, 12 Nov (SANA)--In today's comment, AL-BA'TH says Israel, which has succeeded in deceiving world public about the truth objectives of its invasion of Lebanon, could not deceive the Lebanese themselves, who realized the dimensions of this conspiracy right from the first moment of this savage Israeli onslaught and, therefore, rejected it in its entirety. The paper adds: The Lebanese confronted this conspiracy and its results, represented by continued Zionist occupation of their national soil, which constitutes a threat not only to Lebanon, but to the whole Arab nation, especially Syria. AL-BA'TH continues: Proof of this is the splendid cooperation between the Lebanese citizens on the one hand and the Syrian army and Palestinian resistance on the other during the Beirut and mountain battles with the Zionist enemy to prevent it from achieving its objective of entering the capital of a dear fraternal Arab country after besieging it. The paper says: The Lebanese resistance against Israeli occupation is continuing and mounting. The explosion which occurred yesterday in the Zionist occupation army operations headquarters building in Tyre is a new chapter in the heroic record of the Lebanese resistance against the Zionist occupier. It is proving to the whole world that the Lebanese people will never surrender and that they are determined to continue their relentless struggle against the Israeli occupier until they liberate all their national soil from the last of the Israeli soldiers, as a prelude to liberating all the occupied Arab territories. [Text] [JN121218 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0840 GMT 12 Nov 82]

CSO: 4400/81

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS ON RELATIONS WITH OMAN, INTER-ARAB ISSUES

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by 'Abdallah Shamarid: "'UMAN Interviews Yemeni Deputy Foreign Minister; Oman-Yemen Relations Are Deep-Rooted in History; United Arab Position Needed To Confront Israeli Schemes; Trilateral Pact Threatens Area's Peace and Stability']

[Text] At the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in San'a', we had this interview with Ghalib 'Ali Jamil, the YAR deputy minister of foreign affairs. The interview has provided an opportunity for more than one question on Oman-Yemen relations, which he has described as deep and strong, on the Arab situation with its hot and explosive issues and on the international situation in the area. The deputy minister explained the true nature of the Arab position vis-a-vis the challenges facing the Arab nation and exposed the falsehood of some Arab regimes that have formed alliances and raised bright slogans and were then content with suspicious silence when the time of giving and serious action came.

Firm Relations Getting Stronger

We started with Oman-Yemen relations and their development. The deputy minister asserted that our relations with fraternal Oman are deep-rooted in history and that were it not for the imaginary lines on the map between us and Oman, we would have to say that we are a single family, people and clan, whereas now people talk of neighboring states. This pains us because our relations with Oman are firm and warm relations growing stronger every day due to several considerations: national, Arab, Islamic and security relations and relations of neighborhood. All these considerations make the two peoples fully convinced that they complement each other.

This Is Time for Serious Arab Action

Ghalib 'Ali, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, then touched on the current Arab situation and on what is happening on Lebanese soil since the oppressive Israeli invasion last June. He spoke of the Arab efforts exerted so far to confront this invasion, saying that in the wake of the latest special conference of the Arab ministers of foreign affairs, the Arab efforts must move toward direct and effective action and that the Arab position must not stop at

condemnation so that we can make the others feel that this nation is serious about defending itself, about rising above differences and about taking deterrent steps. This is because I believe that what has happened is nothing but the start of violent Israeli dealings with us. Israel has now moved toward the physical liquidation of civilians and has not been content with the official war. This is a testing period in Lebanon and who knows that Israel will not move toward another country tomorrow?

As for the guarantees presented to the organization [PLO] in the wake of the invasion of Beirut, we expected nothing less. When has Israel ever observed international charters? We will continue to be deluded if we continue to reiterate that Israel has violated the charters, because we know in advance that Israel has never respected its pledges.

Jamil added that Jewish ambitions are no longer confined to securing the borders and that Israel is now looking for something else. This thing is written in their constitution and in the teachings of their elders. Everyone knows that Israel is not the area now occupied by Israel and that Israel no longer demands secure borders, as it did after the 1967 war. Israel has gone beyond this myth to demanding, and even to occupying, neighboring Arab capitals. It has started with the occupation of Beirut now and may occupy another capital tomorrow. Consequently, Israel's withdrawal is no longer a question. Should it withdraw from the 1948 borders, the 1967 borders or the 1982 borders? The issue has become intricate. It is in the essence of Israel's philosophy to create new conditions so that the Arabs will then demand an understanding on how to deal with these new conditions. The Zionist scheme will persist unless we organize our affairs and restore to the Arab family at least the minimum reconciliation and solidarity it had before.

Israel Showed Itself in Ugliest Image

Regarding the situation in Beirut in the wake of the ugly massacres and the practical steps being taken by the Arabs against Israel, the deputy minister said that the period through which our Arab nation is passing is a critical one that requires that calculations be reexamined. The period is not really new. What is new is its severity and violence. This violence in recent months has reached the point where Israel has shown itself in the ugliest image known to the 20th century, driving the organization out of Beirut with the force of arms, killing, dislocating and inflicting grave damage on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and crowning it all with massacres perpetrated against peaceful civilians, including old men, children and women. The Arab nation is fully capable of overcoming this phase and it possesses the elements that put it in a position to defend its existence, if the Arabs unite. All the crises being experienced by the Arab nation at present are a reflection of the Western [presumably meaning Arab] division and the failure to organize the Western [Arab] house from within. This is what has encouraged the enemies and has caused friends to be reluctant in adopting a position of support toward our causes.

Organization Gained Major International Support

Regarding the PLO's future, the deputy minister said: The fact is that the organization has gained a large degree of international support. I can say that what has affected the organization's gains is the Arab division and some people's claim of custodianship over the organization. This is why the organization has splintered into more than 20 political and military factions. All of these accumulations have led to what has taken place in Lebanon. As for the future of the organization as a political entity, I don't think it has suffered greatly. Despite the grave losses inflicted on the military apparatus, the organization has gained extensive international sympathy. This is a political victory that the Arabs must not squander so that in the wake of what has happened, this victory will move the issue closer to a solution.

Egypt's Return Is Pan-Arab Must

Regarding Egypt's return to the Arab ranks, he said: I would not be exaggerating if I say that all these tribulations and problems have afflicted the Arab nation since Egypt's departure from the Arab line. This is an exorbitant price being paid by the Arab nation. On the other hand, we believe that Egypt's return will perhaps be one of the means to restore to the Arab nation the cohesion and the ability to deal with the world and with Israel in particular, considering that Egypt constitutes a major military and political force in the Arab group.

In any case, it is my conviction that Egypt will return to the Arab nation, especially since it has played a positive role in the latest tribulation. Egypt is perhaps the Arab state most anxious and eager not to see the organization affected even though Egypt is no longer a member of the Arab League and even though it has been boycotted by many Arab states and by the organization itself. Yet, Egypt is the voice most clearly heard by the Arabs and the world. Its positions, even vis-a-vis Israel, the state Egypt has been dealing with, have been honorable. Egypt has declared repeatedly that what is taking place does not serve peace, relations or any solution to the Middle East issue.

On the Iraq-Iran war, the deputy minister pointed out that the YAR's position is compatible with the Arab and Islamic position demanding a peaceful solution to the problem and not condoning the use of the force of arms. He also pointed out that Iraq has repeatedly made positive initiatives to settle the dispute peacefully, and it was expected that the other side would respond positively. We still hope that the two Islamic countries will reach a rational formula to end the war and restore relations between them.

We Demand Peace in Horn of Africa

Regarding the impact of the Somali-Ethiopian war on the Horn of Africa, the deputy minister of foreign affairs said: It is one of our principles that states should not resort to force to settle their disputes with neighbors. We are proud of these principles. The area is a sensitive one because it is

coveted by several major powers and because it occupies a strategic position over which many of the covetous countries drool. We have constantly and ceaselessly urged that the area continue to be an area of peace and coexistence between the various regimes. Friendly relations must prevail between the area's states in order to preserve peace in the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and to keep this area free of international conflicts.

Trilateral Treaty Opens Door for Foreign Intervention

Regarding the YAR's position on the trilateral Libyan-Ethiopian-South Yemen treaty, the deputy minister said: Our position has been stated from the first movement. We are an Arab country that advocates peace, nonalignment, application of international laws and respect for each state's sovereignty. This means that we are against military blocs, against alliances and against whatever may provoke reactions in other states.

Our position toward the alliance is clear. The alliance does not serve the area's peace or stability. On the contrary, it opens the door wide to foreign intervention in the area's affairs. Whoever enters into such blocs is not really working for the interest of the Arab cause. The positions of the parties to this alliance became more obvious when the Arab nation was exposed to tribulations in recent months. These parties, like others, have continued to watch as spectators and have not come to the aid of even those whom these parties consider their allies and friends. This is why I say that the Arab nation must depend on itself and must steer clear of all delusions now that events in Lebanon have exposed the positions of these states.

Concluding the interview, Ghalib 'Ali Jamil, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, said: I address my greetings to the fraternal Omani people and to His Majesty Sultan Qabus who is leading his country toward revival, prosperity and progress. Jamil also expressed his best wishes to the people and Government of Oman in their march on the path of advancement and progress to the level of modern states.

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